

INCORPORATES

WAR

COMMENTARY

FREEDOM

through Anarchism

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1st DECEMBER, 1945.

"GO TO HELL" CRY TO BR STOP BRITISH INTERVENTION

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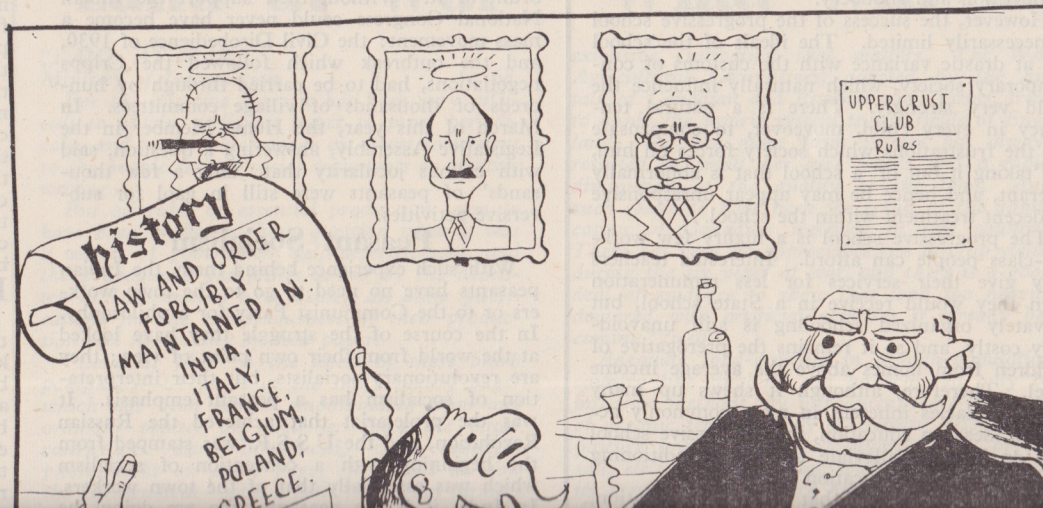
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Where Is The Atlantic Charter?

Let us remember once again the Big Lie, the principle of the Atlantic Charter, which says "Britain and America respect the right of all people to choose the form of government under which they will live, and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them". Millions of people have died thinking they were defending that principle. Now men and women who dare to inscribe that principle on their banners are shot down by the "defenders of democracy".

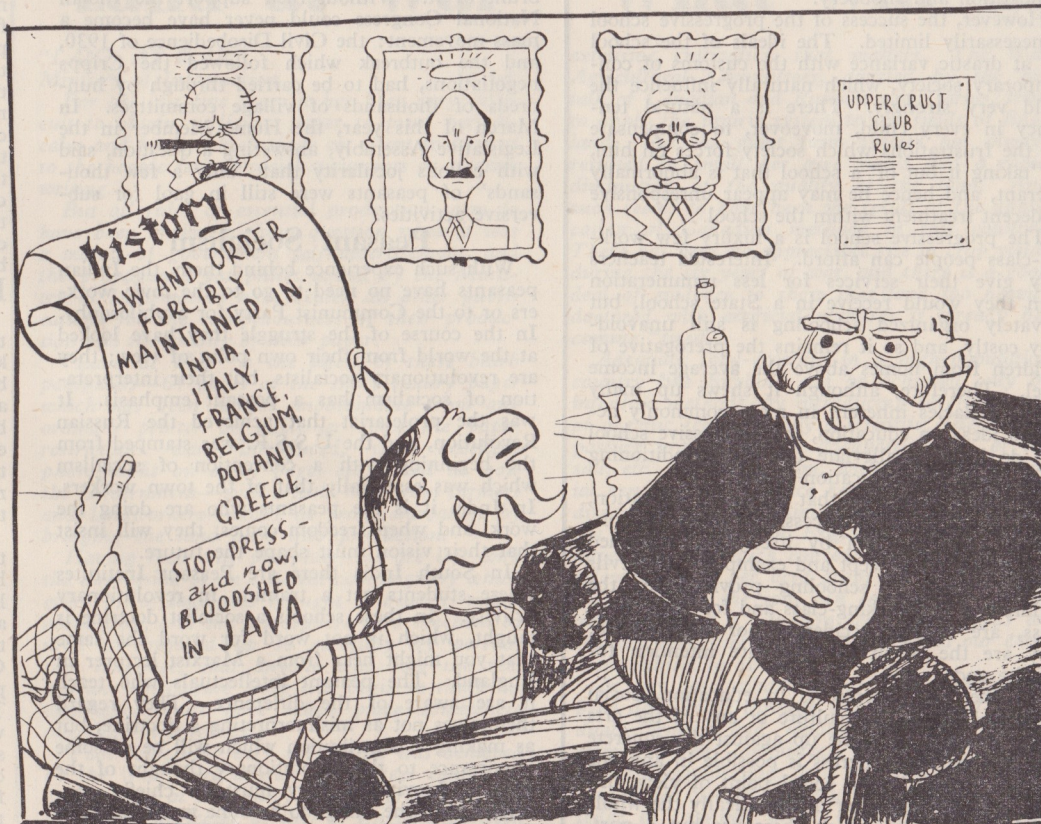
The other war to end wars and to make the world safe for democracy ended in the Amritsar massacre. There are massacres every day now in Indo-China, India and Java. The men who sit in judgment on the murderers of Lidice are ordering Javanese villages to be burnt to the ground as reprisals.

What is the crime of these "extremists", of these "rebels", of these "undesirable elements" and "rioters"? Pandit Nehru declared a few days ago in Lahore: "Four hundred million Indians can no longer tolerate British domination. We are now very impatient to throw away the yoke of slavery. We are now terribly sick of the British Government; we say, 'go to hell'."

"Go to hell" echo the Indian masses, "you have robbed us of our riches, you have forced our women and children down the mines". "Go to hell" echo the Indo-Chinese people, "you are protecting French business people

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"I deeply regret the suffering which inevitably overtake the population of Java until order has been restored.

"We are continuing to try to salvage the future of this ravaged land for the Dutch and for the Indonesians—the future of a commonwealth built on the voluntarily accepted solidarity of the parts of the empire."

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"Go to hell" echo the Indian masses, "you have robbed us of our riches, you have forced our women and children down the mines". "Go to hell" echo the Indo-Chinese people, "you are protecting French business people and officials who have starved us for generations, who have poisoned us with opium and alcohol in order to increase their profits." "Go to hell" cry the Indonesians, "we have worked on tea and rubber plantations at starvation wages, we have been sent to terror-ridden concentration camps in the jungles of New Guinea as soon as we have dared to protest." In 1938 the profits of the Dutch firms derived from their richest enterprises were over 25 million pounds. The wages in Dutch concerns ranged from two and six to seven and six a week at ten hours a day. The

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THE NUREMBERG RED HERRING

The long series of trials of war criminals and collaborators continue to drag their sorry length across the contemporary international scene, and their effect so far has been not to breed just indignation against the psychopaths who stand in the docks, victims of their own perfidy and scapegoats of a corrupt society, so much as to reveal that their corruption permeates the whole of the world they represent, and lays its evil shadow on the judge as well as on the victim. If the war had ended the other way round, one reflects, the British and Russian governments would have provided the victims for a very similar trials, and it cannot easily be said that British armament manufacturers were any less guilty of the war than Krupp, or that Stalin was any less bloodthirsty to his enemies than Goering. No doubt the trials would have been arranged in a different way, but their conclusions would have been similar, and designed for similar propaganda ends.

But, in fact, the propaganda that it was hoped to gain has gone rather flat in the process. Laval, for instance, cut a better figure than his judges, and the only effect of his death has been to give him a martyr's crown, while, if he had been allowed to live, nobody would ever have regarded him as other than an unsuccessful rogue.

The Belsen trial revealed the "horrible monsters" in the dock to be psychological cases who were as much victims of their environments as the people they killed and tortured. To execute them is an evasion of the real issue, that while society is based on force, in certain acute situations it will breed sadism of this type among its

servants. But to admit that would have meant a denial of the very basis of government, and no set of judges can afford to do that. So Kramer and his associates in their turn became the victims of the code of violence that made them the torturers they were.

Now we are witnessing the trial of the really big war criminals by the pure Allies who never started a war in all the centuries of their existence. But when we look at the figures in the dock, we begin to remember by association other figures—British politicians who welcomed the coming of Nazism to Germany, British manufacturers and financiers who helped to put the Nazis in a position to make war, Russian politicians who made a pact with the Nazis, and all the rest of the sinister figures who helped in the conspiracy to crush the working class which culminated in the great climax of the war. Why are they not also in the dock? Ribbentrop, let down by his former friends, begins to wonder why at least they are not in the witness box. But, we are told, it is unlikely that British politicians would be allowed to give evidence, for fear of revealing secrets of national importance. For fear in other words, of betraying the plot against freedom in which they were accomplices of the men in the dock.

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But it is unsuccessful propaganda. People are losing interest in it, and in Goering & Co. now they have ceased to be real enemies of freedom. As George Orwell said a few weeks ago in *The Tribune*:

"Actually there is little acute hatred of Germany left in this country, and even less, I should expect to find, in the army of occupation. Only the minority of sadists, who must have their 'atrocities' from one source or another, take a keen interest in the hunting-down of war criminals and quislings. If you ask the average man what crime Goering, Ribbentrop and the rest are to be charged with at their trial, he cannot tell you. Somehow the punishment of these monsters ceases to seem attractive when it becomes possible: indeed, once under lock and key, they almost cease to be monsters."

It is time the workers looked to the enemies who still have the power to hurt them instead of troubling with those who have lost that power. Goering and his friends, whatever their past crimes, are broken, discredited men, who are being sacrificed because they are no longer of any use to their class. But the sensible man will remember that revenge is a poor substitute for freedom, and that such circuses are designed not for our benefit so much as to hide from us the fact that the function of the Nazi leaders, the suppression of the individual in the interests of the state, is still being carried on by others who now pretend to be their enemies.

gle. In our last issue we indicated that discontent was growing in the gas industry, and now the strike of the Birmingham workers has been followed by the London strike. This strike began with the night workers at Beckton gas works beginning to work slow because no adequate consideration was being given to their claims for time and a third for night work. On Friday night, the 23rd November, the men all received a letter from the Gas Light and Coke Company, threatening that unless the go slow tactics were dropped they would be dismissed. The workers commenced to show the Gas Light and Coke Company that they were in no position to talk of foregoing the services of 2,000 skilled men, by declaring an immediate strike. During the following day they were joined by gas workers at Bromley and Bow Common gas works, and at the time of writing it seems probable that they will be supported by men from other places, including Nine Elms and Fulham. The capitalists and governmental scoundrelmongers immediately began to use the same kind of talk, calculated to rouse public hostility, which they had used against the dockers. The wicked gas-workers were re-imposing the blackout, were depriving people of their Sunday dinners, etc. Not a word against the provocative action of the employers! The gas workers replied with an excellent tactical move, by offering to go back immediately to their go slow programme of working 60 per cent. of normal speed on night work, and further promised that if they received proof that an effort would be made to settle their claims for better conditions, pending since March last, they would return to full shift working.

The gas strike has now ended, and the workers at Beckton have gone on to full shift working having gained their main objectives, i.e. withdrawal of dismissal notices, no victimisation, and a promise of early negotiations on their claims. This was an example of direct action which was effective because of its promptitude and also because the intelligent action of the workers enabled them to defeat the "wicked-workers-hitting-the-housewife" propaganda by putting forward a reasonable case that fixed the responsibility for a continuance of the strike squarely on the shoulders of the employers.

The negotiations regarding the dock workers' claims continue and are still not in sight of settlement, at the time of writing, although the end of 30 days period of truce is nearly over. The dockers however, have already won one victory—over their own leaders, for Deakin, the new general secretary of the T. & G.W.U., has found it wise to inform the Minister of Labour that the offer of a £16 a month guaranteed wage is not acceptable. There is no doubt that the magnificent co-ordination and organisation for industrial struggle of the dockers has impressed even the union leaders and labour politicians, and it is to be hoped that the revolutionary instinct they have demonstrated during the strike will persist in the struggles which undoubtedly lie ahead.

Twelve Scottish collieries went on strike recently owing to disputes over conditions of work, and at last week-end eight pits, involving 800 men, were

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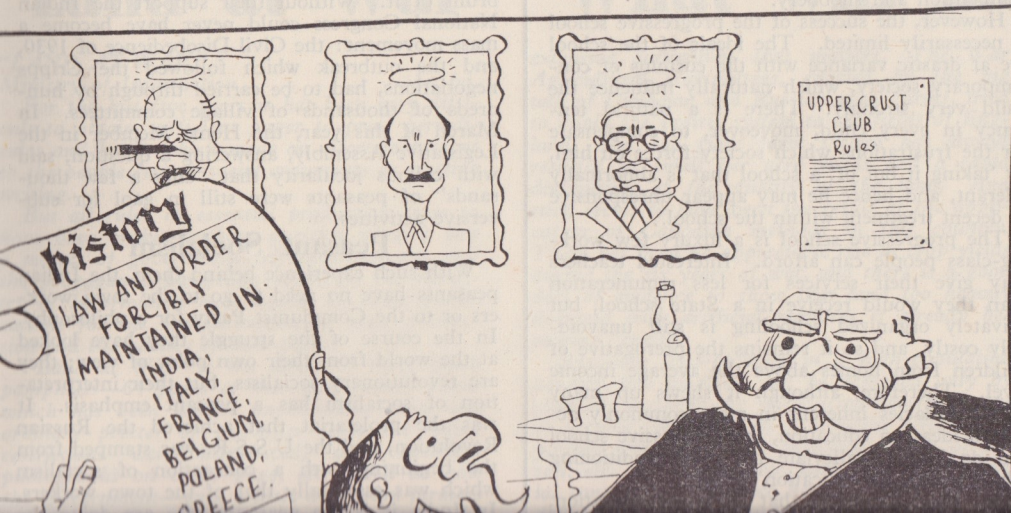
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The Government should go to Trafalgar Square and attempt to justify themselves and explain why dockers who, wanting bread, fight with the only weapons that workers possess, are now to be crooks to be dragged before the magistrate and subsequently clapped in prison.

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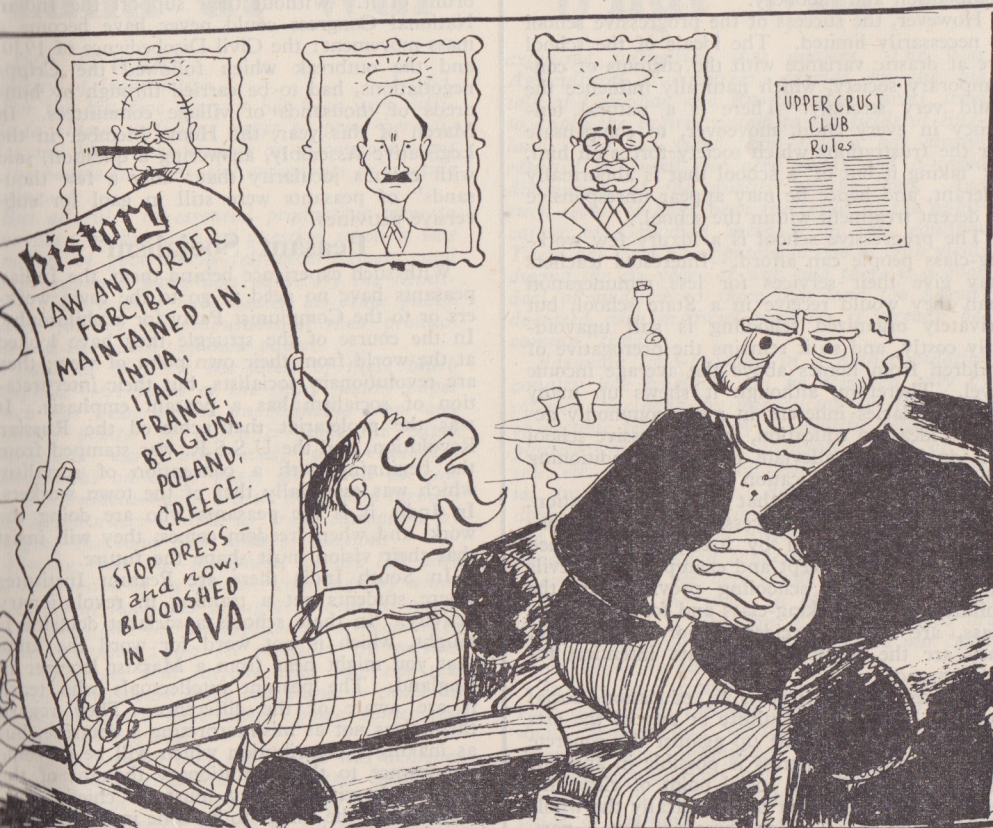
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The workers will need every ounce of support we can give them in their magnificent fight against very great odds. They have received sufficient betrayal from their former so-called friends. The dockers to-day are the fist of the working class, hitting against the vilest piece of industrial exploitation and intrigue that we have seen in this country since 1927. Stand solid with the dockers on the latest phase of a struggle by working men against dictators.

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still on strike. The Scottish Miners' Union led the attack against the men by sending instructions to the branches concerned that if they did not return to work they would no longer be regarded as members of the union or entitled to the services of the union. William Pearson, the Scottish union leader, whose actions we have criticised in the past, declared to the Tory "Sunday Express": "The action of these men is inexcusable in times like these when the people of the country need every ounce of coal that can be produced." The assumption of trade union leaders that it only takes one side to make an industrial dispute and that the guilty side is always their own rank and file is really intolerable. It is about time Mr. Pearson began to think about the inexcusability of owners who provoke disputes and of union leaders who try to prevent the men from using their only really effective industrial methods of direct action.

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"Actually there is little acute hatred of Germany left in this country, and even less, I should expect to find, in the army of occupation. Only the minority of sadists, who must have their 'atrocities' from one source or another, take a keen interest in the hunting-down of war criminals and quislings. If you ask the average man what crime Goering, Ribbentrop and the rest are to be charged with at their trial, he cannot tell you. Somehow the punishment of these monsters ceases to seem attractive when it becomes possible: indeed, once under lock and key, they almost cease to be monsters."

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grie. In our last issue we indicated that discontent was growing in the gas industry, and now the strike of the Birmingham workers has been followed by the London strike. This strike began with the night workers at Beckton gas works beginning to work slow because no adequate consideration was being given to their claims for time and a third for night work. On Friday night, the 23rd November, the men all received a letter from the Gas Light and Coke Company, threatening that unless the go slow tactics were dropped they would be dismissed. The workers commenced to show the Gas Light and Coke Company that they were in no position to talk of foregoing the services of 2,000 skilled men, by declaring an immediate strike. During the following day they were joined by gas workers at Bromley and Bow Common gas works, and at the time of writing it seems probable that they will be supported by men from other places, including Nine Elms and Fulham. The capitalists and governmental scandalmongers immediately began to use the same kind of talk, calculated to rouse public hostility, which they had used against the dockers. The wicked gas-workers were re-imposing the blackout, were depriving people of their Sunday dinners, etc. Not a word against the provocative action of the employers! The gas workers replied with an excellent tactical move, by offering to go back immediately to their go slow programme of working 60 per cent. of normal speed on night work, and further promised that if they received proof that an effort would be made to settle their claims for better conditions, pending since March last, they would return to full shift working.

The gas strike has now ended, and the workers at Beckton have gone on to full shift working, having gained their main objectives, i.e. withdrawal of dismissal notices, no victimisation, and a promise of early negotiations on their claims. This was an example of direct action which was effective because of its promptitude and also because the intelligent action of the workers enabled them to defeat the "wicked-workers-hitting-the-housewife" propaganda by putting forward a reasonable case that fixed the responsibility for a continuance of the strike squarely on the shoulders of the employers.

The negotiations regarding the dock workers' claims continue and are still not in sight of settlement, at the time of writing, although the end of 30 days period of truce is nearly over. The dockers however, have already won one victory—over their own leaders, for Deakin, the new general secretary of the T. & G.W.U., has found it wise to inform the Minister of Labour that the offer of a £16 a month guaranteed wage is not acceptable. There is no doubt that the magnificent co-ordination and organisation for industrial struggle of the dockers has impressed even the union leaders and labour politicians, and it is to be hoped that the revolutionary instinct they have demonstrated during the strike will persist in the struggles which undoubtedly lie ahead.

Twelve Scottish collieries went on strike recently owing to disputes over conditions of work, and at last week-end eight pits, involving 800 men, were

of the union. William Pearson, the Scottish union leader, whose actions we have criticised in the past, declared to the Tory "Sunday Express": "The action of these men is inexcusable in times like these when the people of the country need every ounce of coal that can be produced." The assumption of trade union leaders that it only takes one side to make an industrial dispute and that the guilty side is always their own rank and file is really intolerable. It is about time Mr. Pearson began to think about the inexcusability of owners who provoke disputes and of union leaders who try to prevent the men from using their only really effective industrial methods of direct action.

The Waterproof Garment Workers' Association have decided, by a ballot majority of four to one, to take strike action following the rejection of their demands by the employers, and they have already handed in seven days' notice, affecting some fifty firms in the Manchester area. The demands of the union included a 25 per cent. increase in piece-work and time rates, a reduction of hours from 47 to 44 without reduction of pay, pay for six days' additional holiday a year, and the recognition of shop committees. The owners offered to increase piece rates by 5 per cent. and agreed to the six days' additional holiday with pay. Their offer was immediately turned down by the men.

The hunger strike of the Greek seamen in British ports, which eventually included some 600 men, has now ended with the Greek government giving in to the men's claims by allowing them 7s. 6d. a day each for maintenance while waiting for ships. Eleven of the original Liverpool seamen who started this fight for the elementary needs of living were still in hospital when the strike ended.

Revelations of exploitation by building racketeers were made by G. Pimm, secretary of the Lewisham Joint Progress Committee, who addressed an open-air meeting of building operatives and others. He asserted that there were firms of contractors who had only two skilled men on their books, and did the rest of their building and repair work with handymen and boys paid at much less than the skilled rates.

THE LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP
will hold regular
DISCUSSION LECTURES
Every Sunday at 7 p.m.
at 8 Endsleigh Gardens, W.C.1.
(Downstairs)

2nd DECEMBER George Padmore
British Intervention in the East
Indies.

9th DECEMBER John Hewetson
Anarchism to-day.

16th DECEMBER Ernest Silverman
Prisons and Borstals as they Really Are

ADMISSION FREE — QUESTIONS INVITED

WHAT HOPES FOR EDUCATION?

The Liberal theory holds that we are slowly progressing towards a more rational and happier state of society, by means of eradicating ignorance through universal education. Indeed, the past century shews an apparent revolution in education for the masses: schooling is now not only free but compulsory. Through a system of scholarships, moreover, every child has a chance of attaining the highest academic qualifications—and when he leaves school he can, at least, read a newspaper.

Yet despite this great advance in schooling, there is certainly no lack of ignorance to-day concerning the most elementary matters which concern us all most urgently—matters concerning the organisation of our society to preserve from destruction at least our lives, our means of subsistence, and the elementary freedoms of a half-savage people. In actual fact, the spread of schooling has done nothing to alleviate ignorance on the most vital topics, and has done much to create stupid prejudice. Our modern scholar can certainly read a newspaper, but that often makes him less able to perceive wherein his real interest lies, than was his illiterate great-grandfather. For it was not out of sheer philanthropy that the State made schooling gratuitous, and dubbed it "education". Children may grow up in filthy slums, unhealthy and insufficiently fed—yet the State provides them with free "education", and even adds cheap food and drink in the schools when it is found that starving children just cannot assimilate the three R's.

Why such concern for this aspect of the child's life, when other aspects are shamefully neglected? The answer is perfectly simple; gratuitous schooling was provided when it became a historical necessity for the State to increase its hold over the minds of the populace.

Lenin, when he and his party were consolidating the power of the Russian State over the masses, declared that literacy was necessary for the establishment of Socialism. If we appreciate the true meaning of Leninist "Socialism", the implications of State schooling are apparent. The illiterate worker is in some ways difficult to govern; he and his mates are apt to judge conditions as they find them, and act accordingly. If any written work is said to be of especial interest to them, they can get a literate individual to read it to them, and thus debate its merits. Much revolutionary propaganda has always been carried on in this manner among illiterate people. But the literate worker is much more accessible to the propaganda of the ruling class. He can, by deliberate choice, seek out and read matter of real informative and educative value, but in general he is swamped with a mass of cheap literature cunningly devised to confuse and mislead him. Also, where society is governed through a huge bureaucracy, it is necessary that everyone should be able to read so that they

come before him, do other than maintain "order" by the easiest methods? At best he can hope that the brighter children may succeed in finding some educative value in his teaching.

In the Secondary schools, teaching can afford to be more liberal, for the Elementary schools have assured that the children shall be able to read at least their calling-up papers. However, the chief factor that decides whether a child shall go on to a Secondary school, is the income of his family, not his mental equipment; for the poorer children inevitably have to go to work at an early age to supplement the family budget. Secondary schools, therefore, are intended to supply the necessary class of *petit-bourgeoisie*. They are generally only part-aided by the State, the State contribution naturally depending on the degree of control exerted by the State.

THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

But what of the children of the ruling-class—are they permitted to enjoy real education? On the contrary, they are trained into a specialised ignorance and violent prejudice. This is most necessary, lest their natural intelligence should tend to undermine the vast structure of superstition, muddle and greed on which their fathers' dominant social position is based. This training process is carried out at those institutions known as the public schools.

Originally, the public schools were few in number and aimed at producing gentlemen, that is, men with on special qualifications but expensive tastes, who would inherit their fathers' estates or perhaps enter the limited gentlemanly professions. But with industrialisation and the rapid spread of the British Empire, there grew up a far larger master class, and consequently many new public schools came into being.

In the original public schools, the administration was almost entirely in the hands of schoolmasters and ushers. Left to themselves, the boys amused themselves with gambling and bloodsports, and as was to be expected in the unnatural conditions of adolescent segregation, with bullying and sadistic sexual practices. In the later public schools deliberate use has been made of this sadistic tendency latent in segregated adolescents. Bullying is licenced, approved of and worked up into a definite code whereby the older boys hold the younger in actual personal servitude. Discipline is encouraged for its own sake, and power for the sake of power. A form of self-government exists among the boys, but it is consciously anti-democratic in that all officers are appointed from above, and any appeal from the arbitrary authority of the older boys is most sternly discouraged by the masters.

The effect of this system on the majority of boys can well be imagined. Deprived of the natural outlets of their adolescent nature by artificial segregation in a close, all-male atmosphere, they turn for a perverted solace to the

the species which is a fitting mate for the male.

THE PROGRESSIVE SCHOOLS

In addition to the public schools, there are also a number of privately run schools catering for middle-class children. Most of them are simply money-making rackets, existing for the sole purpose of filling their owner's pockets. But there are a certain number of schools which have been started in comparatively recent years with the object of trying out new educative methods. In mentioning these so-called progressive schools, due credit must be given to A. S. Neill, a pioneer in publicising methods of education which do not seek to impose discipline upon the child.

The general idea in progressive schools is to give children the natural environment of mixed sexes, and freedom from unwarranted adult interference, on the assumption that they will more readily develop into responsible beings. Experience has shewn me that this assumption is justified, and that the discipline of most schools is quite superfluous to reasonable behaviour in the long run. Working in a progressive school, I find that those children who are most difficult come from environments of restraint and imposed discipline. The boy from a strict school is notoriously rowdy when he comes to a freer atmosphere.

The progressive schools aim at letting the children run their own affairs by free co-operation, in contrast to the principle of leadership which is so assiduously fostered at orthodox schools. Also, it is thought that children should be free not only from intimidation by adults, but from systems of bribery by prizes, titles, badges, etc., which stimulate a spirit of competition and snobbery.

However, the success of the progressive school is necessarily limited. The ideals of the school are at drastic variance with the customs of contemporary society, which naturally influence the child very strongly. There is a natural tendency in every child, moreover, to compensate for the frustrations which society forces on him, by 'taking it out of' a school that is abnormally tolerant, and hence he may appear unresponsive to decent treatment within the school.

The progressive school is a luxury few working-class people can afford. Interested teachers may give their services for less remuneration than they would receive in a State school, but privately organized schooling is still unavoidably costly, and so it remains the prerogative of children from homes above the average income level. Therefore, although it shews up many of the fallacies inherent in more commonly accepted ideas on education, the progressive school can do little to alleviate the mass-conditioning which passed for education to-day.

We must recognize that organised education,

INDIAN PEAS

(We welcome the following article by Dina Stock, who is the official representative in England of the Indian peasants' movement and who was in India in 1937 and has always taken an active part in the anti-imperialist struggle. The Editors do not agree with every opinion she expresses—in particular we think she underestimates the role of the Peasants in the Russian revolution—but we are sure our readers will be interested in the facts concerning the Indian peasants' struggle against imperialism).

In western Europe the philosophy of socialism has taken shape out of the struggle of the industrial workers. Industrialism first created the proletariat; the proletariat gains strength by organising, and fights to end capitalist exploitation, to capture the factories, to rebuild human society according to its own conception of justice. The peasants and agricultural workers, too inarticulate and too politically unawakened to take the initiative, follow the lead of the industrial workers and share in the general emancipation. Such, roughly, is the conception of history that inspired the Russian Revolution; and whatever twists it may have taken there, it does to some extent fit the situation of western Europe.

It has not been quite the order of events in India. There, where three quarters of the people are peasants, the peasants have felt the power of western industrialism making and keeping them poor and miserable. They have felt it in the form of imperialism, which taxes them down to starvation level, does nothing at all for their good, and leaves them helpless in the face of the big landlord and the moneylender. So they have been drawn into the struggle for national independence, and because they are the people of India, they have had to bear the full brunt of it. Without their support the Indian National Congress could never have become a mass movement: the Civil Disobedience of 1930 and the outbreak which followed the Crippen negotiations, had to be carried through by hundreds of thousands of village committees. In March of this year, the Home Member in the Legislative Assembly, answering a question, said with callous jocularly that "only a few thousands" of peasants were still in gaol for subversive activities.

Peasant Socialism

With such experience behind them, the Indian peasants have no need to go to the town workers or to the Communist Party for a philosophy. In the course of the struggle they have looked at the world from their own point of view; they are revolutionary socialists, but their interpretation of socialism has a peasant emphasis. It was the proletariat that achieved the Russian Revolution, and the U.S.S.R. was stamped from the beginning with a conception of socialism which was essentially that of the town workers. In India it is the peasants who are doing

over the minds of the populace. Lenin, when he and his party were consolidating the power of the Russian State over the masses, declared that literacy was necessary for the establishment of Socialism. If we appreciate the true meaning of Leninist "Socialism", the implications of State schooling are apparent. The illiterate worker is in some ways difficult to govern; he and his mates are apt to judge conditions as they find them, and act accordingly. If any written work is said to be of especial interest to them, they can get a literate individual to read it to them, and thus debate its merits. Much revolutionary propaganda has always been carried on in this manner among illiterate people. But the literate worker is much more accessible to the propaganda of the ruling class. He can, by deliberate choice, seek out and read matter of real informative and educative value, but in general he is swamped with a mass of cheap literature cunningly devised to confuse and mislead him. Also, where society is governed through a huge bureaucracy, it is necessary that everyone should be able to read so that they are able to follow the numerous laws and regulations whereby their lives are governed.

THE STATE SCHOOL

The State school provides more than the three R's. It gives the pupils a mental conditioning which tends to make them accept their lot in later life with docility. Needless to say the textbooks and curriculum provided do not tend to stimulate any inquiring mind, and the whole is intended to impress on the children the meaning of authority and discipline. Much of the horror with which a good section of the working class regard any sort of learning, may be traced to their dreary beginnings in the Elementary School.

It is hardly fair to blame the school-teachers for the nature of State schooling; often they start with the most progressive ideas about education, but their hands are tied by the existing system. How can an Elementary school-teacher, faced with a class of fifty children compelled to

competition and snobbery. However, the success of the progressive school is necessarily limited. The ideals of the school are at drastic variance with the customs of contemporary society, which naturally influence the child very strongly. There is a natural tendency in every child, moreover, to compensate for the frustrations which society forces on him, by 'taking it out of' a school that is abnormally tolerant, and hence he may appear unresponsive to decent treatment within the school. The progressive school is a luxury few working-class people can afford. Interested teachers may give their services for less remuneration than they would receive in a State school, but privately organized schooling is still unavoidably costly, and so it remains the prerogative of children from homes above the average income level. Therefore, although it shews up many of the fallacies inherent in more commonly accepted ideas on education, the progressive school can do little to alleviate the mass-conditioning which passed for education to-day.

We must recognize that organised education, like any other social necessity, cannot be considered as a problem by itself, and reformed from within by precept and example. The evils of the system of schooling provided for the children of the working-class and for the ruling-class, are neither accidental nor unavoidable; they are the result of deliberate intention for definite ends.

Whether our interest is in education, social hygiene, building, agriculture or any of the arts useful to man, we come up against the concrete fact that no real progress is possible in any one of these from a broad social point of view, unless we attack and alter most radically the whole social structure of which these are but a part. Without this broad view and the will to carry matters to their conclusion, the experiments in education which we may carry out in our own small way lose significance when related to the social problem as a whole.

TONY GIBSON.

The Development of Libertarian Thought—3

At first socialism existed mainly in the form of mental fantasies and carefully thought-out systems, in political insurrections and conspiracies. The turning point came in the 1830's and 1840's, when wide masses became interested in the fundamental reformation of the existing order of society. In the year 1840 appeared an essay by a Besançon printer, entitled *What is Property?* The author was P. J. Proudhon. The answer he took from Brissot—"Property is theft". This essay indicated a departure from Utopian idealism. It was no longer a portrayal of the world as it should be, but an experiment to take existing society up by its roots, through a ruthless criticism of its fundamental legal concepts, and thus to make room for the existence of a just order out of free will of the human being. Inasmuch as Proudhon attempted to fight the dangerous illusion which tried to impose a system, carefully thought out by a few,

he called for a free decision among men, and wished to guide them on the path of immediate social revolution?

FEDERALISM

What remained of Proudhon's socialism and has since influenced the socialist workers' movement, was the idea of federalism. In 1862 appeared "Du princip federatif". The federation, which Proudhon knew from his studies of the history of the ancient Gauls, from the mediaeval communes and the French Revolution, was for him the political form of the future. "The twentieth century will open with an era of federalism, otherwise the world will experience a purgatory of a thousand years". Unfortunately, our peace plans of to-day look more like purgatory.

Federalism is a contract between individuals, groups and regions. Not a holy, eternally obliging contract like the social contract of

ence of progressive industrialisation and proletarianisation, Proudhon's ideas of mutualism had to make room for the ideas of collectivisation of the means of production. Federalism remained prevalent in the International until the split in 1872, and was only rejected by a small minority of German state socialists under the leadership of Marx. Libertarian collectivism was most signally represented by the Russian revolutionary, Michael Bakunin.

Bakunin's ideas cannot be divorced from his personal life, for they were shaped during a career that was devoted at all times to the revolutionary struggle.

Different in character from Proudhon, who was fundamentally a metaphysician seeking to discover the eternal laws of society, Bakunin was in the first place a man of strong feelings. For him socialism was not an example in arithmetic. He did not believe in the liberating powers of science, which he regarded at best as

brunt of it. Without their support the Indian National Congress could never have become a mass movement: the Civil Disobedience of 1930 and the outbreak which followed the Cripps negotiations, had to be carried through by hundreds of thousands of village committees. In March of this year, the Home Member in the Legislative Assembly, answering a question, said with callous jocularly that "only a few thousands" of peasants were still in gaol for subversive activities.

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In South India there are Peasant Institutes where students get a training in revolutionary activity. In these schools a socialist doctrine is taught, which is not word for word the same that you might hear from a Marxist lecturer in England. The peasant intellectuals who teach it are aware of the difference. They regard themselves not as misinterpreting a doctrine, but as making a contribution which will be of some importance to the revolutionary thought of the future. Inevitably, they must be chiefly concerned with the things to be done immediately in India. But all the time, their thoughts on these things are coloured by the consciousness that they are in the front line of a world-wide movement. The struggle of the Indian peasant matters to the people of China, Africa, South America, and all the colonial and semi-coloured agrarian countries, just as the struggle of the Russian proletariat in 1917 mattered to the industrial workers of western Europe.

The Indian peasants cannot think of the revolution in terms of a revolt of the organised workers against their capitalist employers. They recognise that this is the form which the struggle takes in western Europe and the U.S.A. But for them, a much bigger and more urgent struggle is that of the growers of food and raw materials against the industrialists who exploit and impoverish them. To be an industrialist is to be an aristocrat in the modern world. An industrial nation can command armed force; its arguments are heard with attention because they may be followed up with bombs. The war was fought mainly to determine which of two groups of industrial powers should dominate the world markets. If the Germans won, they had planned to de-industrialise all of Europe which could not be included in the Greater Reich, so as to surround themselves with a belt of helpless agrarian countries to serve as granaries and markets for their workshops. The victorious allies replied with a plan for the "pastoralisation" of Germany, which may still be carried out at no matter what cost in life and suffering.

Slaves Of The Export Market

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PROUDHON'S MUTUALISM

According to Proudhon, there was only one way of putting into being a socialist society—through liberty. Ecclesiastical dogma, political centralisation, economic monopoly, are for him different means of expression for one and the same authoritarian principle, which has to be overcome. He declines state communism as being too closely related to private capitalism. Conspiracies, political insurrections and changes of government he regards as insignificant. On the other hand, he would stimulate the craftsmen, peasants and workers to build their society from bottom upwards, through the creation of their own organisations, and by this means to make any authoritarian institutions unnecessary and thereby condemn them to death. A workers' association should secure an independent position for all workers in the factories. Through exchange banks and mutual credits the peasants and petit-bourgeoisie should order their own affairs, and through this be independent of the state and large finance. This new principle of reciprocity Proudhon calls *mutualism*.

This petit-bourgeois socialism corresponded to the social structure of that time. That it could not be made real, we can explain subsequently through the faults of the existing conditions. At the same time Marx was feeding the workers with hopes of a socialism of the future, when technical progress and capital accumulation had made the world ripe for a proletarian dictatorship; he advised them in the meantime to support the bourgeois democracy. To-day we must put to ourselves the question whether, after a hundred years of accumulation of capitalism and brutality, the psychological conditions for liberty and solidarity have become any better. Was not Proudhon nearer the truth, when, according to the tendencies of his time,

he called for a free decision among men, and wished to guide them on the path of immediate social revolution?

FEDERALISM

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Federalism is a contract between individuals, groups and regions. Not a holy, eternally obliging contract like the social contract of Rousseau, but a realistic act of the free will, founded on reciprocity and able to be dissolved at any time.

In the young nationalistic socialism, which at that time began to stir all over Europe, and in which Karl Marx and the other democrats of all shades saw a progressive element, Proudhon visualised a dangerous alliance of natural national needs with the political power interests of ambitious statesmen like Bismarck, Napoleon III and Cavour.

A European peace can only be safeguarded through federalism, not through an alliance of statesmen, but by dissolving the existing states into autonomous federal groups. "In this sense," wrote Proudhon, "I indicated, in my last publications, as a step towards a reform of European society, the development of Italian, Greek and Danube federations, as a prelude to the decentralisation of the great powers and subsequently to general disarmament. Thus every nationality would gain freedom, and we should make real the idea of European balance, which all publicists and statesmen demand, but which is unattainable with the existence of major powers with centralised constitutions."

For Proudhon, not the political, but the economic problem was foremost, because political federalism would be worthless and could not be maintained for any length of time with a system of economic hierarchy. That is why the social revolution is the main condition of political freedom.

THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL

The International Working Men's Association was founded in London in 1846. With it there came into being a new epoch in the history of the socialist movement. The proposals of the international congresses, which were attended by workers and intellectuals from most European countries, bear witness to the intense struggle in which socialism was the goal. Under the influ-

ence of progressive industrialisation and proletarianisation, Proudhon's ideas of mutualism had to make room for the ideas of collectivisation of the means of production. Federalism remained prevalent in the International until the split in 1872, and was only rejected by a small minority of German state socialists under the leadership of Marx. Libertarian collectivism was most signally represented by the Russian revolutionary, Michael Bakunin.

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Different in character from Proudhon, who was fundamentally a metaphysician seeking to discover the eternal laws of society, Bakunin was in the first place a man of strong feelings. For him socialism was not an example in arithmetic. He did not believe in the liberating powers of science, which he regarded at best as a useful, but an inferior resource. Above it stands life itself, which never allows itself to be pressed into abstract forms. In Bakunin lived, indivisibly united, a strong will towards liberty and at the same time a desire for justice and social unity. He was convinced that these things lie latent in all human beings, and that the task of the revolutionary is to awaken them.

In 1845 Bakunin wrote:

"Everything that liberates man and leads him back to himself, everything that arouses in him the principle of his own life, of original and truly independent activity, everything that gives him strength to be himself—all that is true, all else is false, liberty-destroying and absurd. To man freedom is the only legitimate and beneficial influence. Down with all philosophic and religious dogmas, they are only lies. The truth is not theory, but action, life itself—the community of free independent human beings, the holy unity of love, which springs from the mysterious and infinite depths of the personality."

TRADE UNIONISTS DEMAND ENQUIRY INTO INTERNMENT OF SPANIARDS

Four of the Spanish prisoners at Hall o' the Hill Camp, near Chorley, attended a meeting of the Lancashire and Cheshire Federation of Trades Councils at Manchester, where it was decided to demand the release of the prisoners and to call for an inquiry to be made into their continued detention. Meanwhile, we learn that Antonio Cortes, the prisoner whose English wife was left in Guernsey when he was taken away to Lancashire, has now been taken back to the island.

workers against their capitalist employers. They recognise that this is the form which the struggle takes in western Europe and the U.S.A. But for them, a much bigger and more urgent struggle is that of the growers of food and raw materials against the industrialists who exploit and impoverish them. To be an industrialist is to be an aristocrat in the modern world. An industrial nation can command armed force; its arguments are heard with attention because they may be followed up with bombs. The war was fought mainly to determine which of two groups of industrial powers should dominate the world markets. If the Germans won, they had planned to de-industrialise all of Europe which could not be included in the Greater Reich, so as to surround themselves with a belt of helpless agrarian countries to serve as granaries and markets for their workshops. The victorious allies replied with a plan for the "pastoralisation" of Germany, which may still be carried out at no matter what cost in life and suffering.

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Even in peace-time, however, the industrial powers have an advantage over the agrarian countries. Big Business controls the world mar-

A THOUSAND SOLDIER

Conditions in troopships have been a reason for discontent among British soldiers going overseas throughout the war, and now that hostilities have ended this discontent is coming to the surface and, with demobilisation and other grievances, has caused a number of recent incidents when soldiers have demonstrated their annoyance with present conditions.

At Southampton a thousand men walked off the old Dutch liner *Johan de Witt* on which they were expected to sail back to Italy. The men had been waiting already some two or three weeks in badly run transit camps, and when they reached the ship they found the conditions more than they were prepared to endure. The *New Chronicle* (24/11/45) records the statement of one of the men.

"We boarded the ship at eight o'clock this morning, and conditions have been so bad that we just couldn't stand it. The food was terrible, worse than any prison camp. The best meal offered was bully beef and cheese and some of us had to queue two and a half hours even for that.

Sanitary arrangements were appalling, with 200 men in the same section sharing 10 wash-basins and with one lavatory to 400 men. We were issued with only one blanket. There were twice more than the number expected to sleep in the space aboard.

During our fortnight in camp we were given no soap and we have not been able to get a cigarette on board ship to-day.

Some of us are due for release early in December. Many of us have just had our first leave for 3½ years."

The War Office officials meanwhile state that the accommodation is according to army medical

ES FOR EDUCATION ?

come before him, do other than maintain "order" by the easiest methods? At best he can hope that the brighter children may succeed in finding some educative value in his teaching.

In the Secondary schools, teaching can afford to be more liberal, for the Elementary schools have assured that the children shall be able to read at least their calling-up papers. However, the chief factor that decides whether a child shall go on to a Secondary school, is the income of his family, not his mental equipment; for the poorer children inevitably have to go to work at an early age to supplement the family budget. Secondary schools, therefore, are intended to supply the necessary class of *petit-bourgeoisie*. They are generally only part-aided by the State, the State contribution naturally depending on the degree of control exerted by the State.

THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

But what of the children of the ruling-class—are they permitted to enjoy real education? On the contrary, they are trained into a specialised ignorance and violent prejudice. This is most necessary, lest their natural intelligence should tend to undermine the vast structure of superstition, muddle and greed on which their fathers' dominant social position is based. This training process is carried out at those institutions known as the public schools.

Originally, the public schools were few in number and aimed at producing gentlemen, that is, men with on special qualifications but expensive tastes, who would inherit their fathers' estates or perhaps enter the limited gentlemanly professions. But with industrialisation and the rapid spread of the British Empire, there grew up a far larger master class, and consequently many new public schools came into being.

In the original public schools, the administration was almost entirely in the hands of schoolmasters and ushers. Left to themselves, the boys amused themselves with gambling and blood-sports, and as was to be expected in the unnatural conditions of adolescent segregation, with bullying and sadistic sexual practices. In the later public schools deliberate use has been made of this sadistic tendency latent in segregated adolescents. Bullying is licenced, approved of and worked up into a definite code whereby the older boys hold the younger in actual personal servitude. Discipline is encouraged for its own sake, and power for the sake of power. A form of self-government exists among the boys, but it is consciously anti-democratic in that all officers are appointed from above, and any appeal from the arbitrary authority of the older boys is most sternly discouraged by the masters.

The effect of this system on the majority of boys can well be imagined. Deprived of the natural outlets of their adolescent nature by artificial segregation in a close, all-male atmosphere, they turn for a perverted solace to the

the species which is a fitting mate for the male.

THE PROGRESSIVE SCHOOLS

In addition to the public schools, there are also a number of privately run schools catering for middle-class children. Most of them are simply money-making rackets, existing for the sole purpose of filling their owner's pockets. But there are a certain number of schools which have been started in comparatively recent years with the object of trying out new educative methods. In mentioning these so-called progressive schools, due credit must be given to A. S. Neill, a pioneer in publicising methods of education which do not seek to impose discipline upon the child.

The general idea in progressive schools is to give children the natural environment of mixed sexes, and freedom from unwarranted adult interference, on the assumption that they will more readily develop into responsible beings. Experience has shewn me that this assumption is justified, and that the discipline of most schools is quite superfluous to reasonable behaviour in the long run. Working in a progressive school, I find that those children who are most difficult come from environments of restraint and imposed discipline. The boy from a strict school is notoriously rowdy when he comes to a freer atmosphere.

The progressive schools aim at letting the children run their own affairs by free co-operation, in contrast to the principle of leadership which is so assiduously fostered at orthodox schools. Also, it is thought that children should be free not only from intimidation by adults, but from systems of bribery by prizes, titles, badges, etc., which stimulate a spirit of competition and snobbery.

However, the success of the progressive school is necessarily limited. The ideals of the school are at drastic variance with the customs of contemporary society, which naturally influence the child very strongly. There is a natural tendency in every child, moreover, to compensate for the frustrations which society forces on him, by 'taking it out of' a school that is abnormally tolerant, and hence he may appear unresponsive to decent treatment within the school.

The progressive school is a luxury few working-class people can afford. Interested teachers may give their services for less remuneration than they would receive in a State school, but privately organized schooling is still unavoidably costly, and so it remains the prerogative of children from homes above the average income level. Therefore, although it shews up many of the fallacies inherent in more commonly accepted ideas on education, the progressive school can do little to alleviate the mass-conditioning which passed for education to-day.

We must recognize that organised education,

INDIAN PEASANT SOCIALISM

(We welcome the following article by Dinah Stock, who is the official representative in England of the Indian peasants' movement and who was in India in 1937 and has always taken an active part in the anti-imperialist struggle. The Editors do not agree with every opinion she expresses—in particular we think she under-estimates the role of the Peasants in the Russian revolution—but we are sure our readers will be interested in the facts concerning the Indian peasants' struggle against imperialism).

In western Europe the philosophy of socialism has taken shape out of the struggle of the industrial workers. Industrialism first creates the proletariat; the proletariat gains strength by organising, and fights to end capitalist exploitation, to capture the factories, to rebuild human society according to its own conception of justice. The peasants and agricultural workers, too inarticulate and too politically unawakened to take the initiative, follow the lead of the industrial workers and share in the general emancipation. Such, roughly, is the conception of history that inspired the Russian Revolution; and whatever twists it may have taken there, it does to some extent fit the situation of western Europe.

It has not been quite the order of events in India. There, where three quarters of the people are peasants, the peasants have felt the power of western industrialism making and keeping them poor and miserable. They have felt it in the form of imperialism, which taxes them down to starvation level, does nothing at all for their good, and leaves them helpless in the face of the big landlord and the moneylender. So they have been drawn into the struggle for national independence, and because they are the people of India, they have had to bear the full brunt of it. Without their support the Indian National Congress could never have become a mass movement: the Civil Disobedience of 1930, and the outbreak which followed the Cripps negotiations, had to be carried through by hundreds of thousands of village committees. In March of this year, the Home Member in the Legislative Assembly, answering a question, said with callous jocularly that "only a few thousands" of peasants were still in gaol for subversive activities.

Peasant Socialism

With such experience behind them, the Indian peasants have no need to go to the town workers or to the Communist Party for a philosophy. In the course of the struggle they have looked at the world from their own point of view; they are revolutionary socialists, but their interpretation of socialism has a peasant emphasis. It was the proletariat that achieved the Russian Revolution, and the U.S.S.R. was stamped from the beginning with a conception of socialism which was essentially that of the town workers. In India it is the peasants who are doing the

ket, and manipulates prices so that the grower of food is always worse off than the manufacturer. The world market is the peasant's enemy. Once he has begun to produce for it he tends more and more to concentrate on a single crop for export, until he imports the food he needs, and becomes dependent for his life on price fluctuations beyond his control. There are still some food-growing countries which feed themselves and so cannot be starved into submission, but they are growing fewer. Wherever an industrial power dominates an agrarian country, it nearly always forces forward this one-crop economy until the people are helpless slaves of the export market.

Therefore, the fight against imperialism is to the peasants of colonial and semi-colonial countries what the fight against capitalism is to the European workers. It is their first necessary step to freedom, and freedom, to have any real meaning, must give them the power to determine their own economic way of life. A free India, organised as a great peasant democracy, must first of all make herself as nearly as possible independent of the world market. The provinces must be their own markets and feed themselves, and the export trades must come second. That is the only basis on which a free community can be built up.

Not that the Indian peasants want to abolish machine industry. They do not hold that it is necessarily incompatible with human happiness and freedom—though they would undoubtedly say this of machinery as capitalism has fostered it in the industrial slums of Calcutta or Bombay. But they do not want to transform their country into an industrial power, dependent for its life on the exploitation of other more "backward" countries. They mean to control industry so that it genuinely serves the welfare of the great mass of the people. Their first task will be to free the people of the villages from debt, and to plan a balanced agriculture which shall raise their standard of living. At a slower tempo they propose to develop India's basic industries, not concentrating them as at present they are concentrated in a few big towns, but spacing them out so that they serve whole districts. But there are a great many consumers' goods which could best be made by hand or by cottage industry instead of in factories, and brought to the consumer through great co-operative marketing boards connecting all the provinces of India.

Equality of Town and Country

Something like this is the social order which the Peasant Movement plans for India. Its keystone is the cultivator, who will sometimes be a co-operator and sometimes a smallholder according to soil and circumstance. There will be no aristocracy of industrial labour, no preference of the town's needs over those of the countryside. *Kisan-Mazdur-Praja Raj*—the equal rule of the peasant, the worker and the intellectual worker—is the slogan of the movement.

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The effect of this system on the majority of boys can well be imagined. Deprived of the natural outlets of their adolescent nature by artificial segregation in a close, all-male atmosphere, they turn for a perverted solace to the holding of considerable power over the lives of those younger than themselves. It is profoundly corrupting.

With this as a background, strong nationalist and ruling-class bias is added wherever possible to the academic subjects taught, and these are supplemented by a violent worship of athletics, and training in militarism, and religious conformity. But in addition to these deliberately fostered prejudices, a huge ignorance is cultivated by secluding the boys away from the ordinary affairs of the world. They grow up far more ignorant of simple facts concerning the nature of modern society, than boys who have missed the doubtful blessing of the public school. It is no wonder that public school boys are such a stereotyped product, and that the more intelligent of them spend years trying to work down the old school tie.

Little need be added on the subject of public schools for girls: they turn out a female of

the same drastic variance with the customs of contemporary society, which naturally influence the child very strongly. There is a natural tendency in every child, moreover, to compensate for the frustrations which society forces on him, by 'taking it out of' a school that is abnormally tolerant, and hence he may appear unresponsive to decent treatment within the school.

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We must recognize that organised education, like any other social necessity, cannot be considered as a problem by itself, and reformed from within by precept and example. The evils of the system of schooling provided for the children of the working-class and for the ruling-class, are neither accidental nor unavoidable; they are the result of deliberate intention for definite ends.

Whether our interest is in education, social hygiene, building, agriculture or any of the arts useful to man, we come up against the concrete fact that no real progress is possible in any one of these from a broad social point of view, unless we attack and alter most radically the whole social structure of which these are but a part. Without this broad view and the will to carry matters to their conclusion, the experiments in education which we may carry out in our own small way lose significance when related to the social problem as a whole.

TONY GIBSON.

nt of Libertarian Thought—3

called for a free decision among men, and wished to guide them on the path of immediate social revolution?

FEDERALISM

What remained of Proudhon's socialism and as since influenced the socialist workers' movement, was the idea of federalism. In 1862 appeared "Du princip federatif". The federation, which Proudhon knew from his studies of the history of the ancient Gauls, from the mediaeval communes and the French Revolution, was for him the political form of the future. "The twentieth century will open with an era of federalism, otherwise the world will experience a purgatory of a thousand years". Unfortunately, our peace plans of to-day look more like purgatory.

Federalism is a contract between individuals, groups and regions. Not a holy, eternally obliging contract like the social contract of Rousseau, but a realistic act of the free will, founded on reciprocity and able to be dissolved

ence of progressive industrialisation and proletarianisation, Proudhon's ideas of mutualism had to make room for the ideas of collectivism of the means of production. Federalism remained prevalent in the International until the split in 1872, and was only rejected by a small minority of German state socialists under the leadership of Marx. Libertarian collectivism was most signally represented by the Russian revolutionary, Michael Bukunin.

Bakunin's ideas cannot be divorced from his personal life, for they were shaped during a career that was devoted at all times to the revolutionary struggle.

Different in character from Proudhon, who was fundamentally a metaphysician seeking to discover the eternal laws of society, Bakunin was in the first place a man of strong feelings. For him socialism was not an example in arithmetic. He did not believe in the liberating powers of science, which he regarded at best as a useful, but an inferior resource. Above it stands life itself, which never allows itself to be pressed into abstract forms. In Bakunin lived,

and the outbreak which followed the Cripps negotiations, had to be carried through by hundreds of thousands of village committees. In March of this year, the Home Member in the Legislative Assembly, answering a question, said with callous jocularly that "only a few thousands" of peasants were still in gaol for subversive activities.

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With such experience behind them, the Indian peasants have no need to go to the town workers or to the Communist Party for a philosophy. In the course of the struggle they have looked at the world from their own point of view; they are revolutionary socialists, but their interpretation of socialism has a peasant emphasis. It was the proletariat that achieved the Russian Revolution, and the U.S.S.R. was stamped from the beginning with a conception of socialism which was essentially that of the town workers. In India it is the peasants who are doing the work, and when freedom comes, they will insist that their vision must shape the future.

In South India there are Peasant Institutes where students get a training in revolutionary activity. In these schools a socialist doctrine is taught, which is not word for word the same that you might hear from a Marxist lecturer in England. The peasant intellectuals who teach it are aware of the difference. They regard themselves not as misinterpreting a doctrine, but as making a contribution which will be of some importance to the revolutionary thought of the future. Inevitably, they must be chiefly concerned with the things to be done immediately in India. But all the time, their thoughts on these things are coloured by the consciousness that they are in the front line of a world-wide movement. The struggle of the Indian peasant matters to the people of China, Africa, South America, and all the colonial and semi-coloured agrarian countries, just as the struggle of the Russian proletariat in 1917 mattered to the industrial workers of western Europe.

The Indian peasants cannot think of the revolution in terms of a revolt of the organised workers against their capitalist employers. They recognise that this is the form which the struggle takes in western Europe and the U.S.A. But for them, a much bigger and more urgent struggle is that of the growers of food and raw materials against the industrialists who exploit and impoverish them. To be an industrialist is to be an aristocrat in the modern world. An industrial nation can command armed force; its arguments are heard with attention because they may be followed up with bombs. The war was fought mainly to determine which of two groups of industrial powers should dominate the world markets. If the Germans won, they had planned to de-industrialise all of Europe which could not be included in the Greater Reich, so as to surround themselves with a belt of helpless agrarian countries to serve as granaries and markets for their workshops. The victorious allies replied with a plan for the "pastoralisation" of Germany, which may still be carried out at no matter what cost in life and suffering.

Slaves Of The Export Market

Even in peace-time, however, the industrial powers have an advantage over the agrarian countries. Big Business controls the world mar-

plan a balanced agriculture which shall raise their standard of living. At a slower tempo they propose to develop India's basic industries, not concentrating them as at present they are concentrated in a few big towns, but spacing them out so that they serve whole districts. But there are a great many consumers' goods which could best be made by hand or by cottage industry instead of in factories, and brought to the consumer through great co-operative marketing boards connecting all the provinces of India.

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How to get it? There is no way except through the fight for independence, and the war has taught the Peasant Movement some hard lessons about the need for unity. In 1939, they almost thought that independence was there for the taking; they were ready to quarrel with the Congress for being too slow, and to step into its place as the leaders of revolutionary nationalism. Then came the war, the civil disobedience, the wholesale repression, and worst of all the desertion of the Communist Party of India, which decided to stand by the British Government. A few of the peasant leaders were communists, and these "abstained from imprisonment"—the phrase is an Indian writer's, and expresses the spirit of voluntary obligation in which the others faced it in the name of the Congress and freedom. This split had a far more confusing effect on the common people of India than the Moslem League's demand for Pakistan.

Those peasant leaders who have emerged from gaol have come out even more certain than before that the Peasant Movement has a serious part to play in the future of India; but they are determined to have no more divisions until the British Raj has departed. They have set to work to organise Peasant Congress Committees in the different provinces. In all their political work these Peasant Congress Committees accept the discipline of the All-India National Congress, and make it their business to spread the Congress spirit among the peasants of the villages. But the peasants have their own class struggle too, and look to the provincial Peasant Congress Committees for help in everything that concerns it. There is an All-India Peasant Congress Committee but its function is purely advisory; it cannot impose a policy on the peasants from above. This is to make sure that no leader in future can divide the movement from above, as the Communists have already done once. Its strength comes from below, and it relies not on a dictated policy, but on its ability to serve the needs and express the aspirations of the Indian peasants; on the provincial and above all on the village committees, whose task it is to carry on a continuous daily fight against the landlord, the moneylender and the government official, and to interpret the doctrine of *Kisan-Mazdur-Praja* Raj.

DINAH STOCK.

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Federalism is a contract between individuals, groups and regions. Not a holy, eternally obliging contract like the social contract of Rousseau, but a realistic act of the free will, founded on reciprocity and able to be dissolved at any time.

In the young nationalistic socialism, which at that time began to stir all over Europe, and in which Karl Marx and the other democrats of all shades saw a progressive element, Proudhon visualised a dangerous alliance of natural national needs with the political power interests of ambitious statesmen like Bismarck, Napoleon III and Cavour.

A European peace can only be safeguarded through federalism, not through an alliance of statesmen, but by dissolving the existing states into autonomous federal groups. "In this sense," wrote Proudhon, "I indicated, in my last publications, as a step towards a reform of European society, the development of Italian, Greek and Danube federations, as a prelude to the decentralisation of the great powers and subsequently to general disarmament. Thus every nationality would gain freedom, and we should make real the idea of European balance, which all publicists and statesmen demand, but which is unattainable with the existence of major powers with centralised constitutions."

For Proudhon, not the political, but the economic problem was foremost, because political federalism would be worthless and could not be maintained for any length of time with a system of economic hierarchy. That is why the social revolution is the main condition of political freedom.

THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL

The International Working Men's Association was founded in London in 1846. With it there came into being a new epoch in the history of the socialist movement. The proposals of the international congresses, which were attended by workers and intellectuals from most European countries, bear witness to the intense struggle in which socialism was the goal. Under the influ-

ence of progressive industrialisation and proletarianisation, Proudhon's ideas of mutualism had to make room for the ideas of collectivisation of the means of production. Federalism remained prevalent in the International until the split in 1872, and was only rejected by a small minority of German state socialists under the leadership of Marx. Libertarian collectivism was most signally represented by the Russian revolutionary, Michael Bakunin.

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In 1845 Bakunin wrote:

"Everything that liberates man and leads him back to himself, everything that arouses in him the principle of his own life, of original and truly independent activity, everything that gives him strength to be himself—all that is true, all else is false, liberty-destroying and absurd. To man freedom is the only legitimate and beneficial influence. Down with all philosophic and religious dogmas, they are only lies. The truth is not theory, but action, life itself—the community of free independent human beings, the holy unity of love, which springs from the mysterious and infinite depths of the personality."

TRADE UNIONISTS DEMAND ENQUIRY INTO INTERNMENT OF SPANIARDS

Four of the Spanish prisoners at Hall o' the Hill Camp, near Chorley, attended a meeting of the Lancashire and Cheshire Federation of Trades Councils at Manchester, where it was decided to demand the release of the prisoners and to call for an inquiry to be made into their continued detention. Meanwhile, we learn that Antonio Cortes, the prisoner whose English wife was left in Guernsey when he was taken away to Lancashire, has now been taken back to the island.

British Raj has departed. They have set to work to organise Peasant Congress Committees in the different provinces. In all their political work these Peasant Congress Committees accept the discipline of the All-India National Congress, and make it their business to spread the Congress spirit among the peasants of the villages. But the peasants have their own class struggle too, and look to the provincial Peasant Congress Committees for help in everything that concerns it. There is an All-India Peasant Congress Committee but its function is purely advisory; it cannot impose a policy on the peasants from above. This is to make sure that no leader in future can divide the movement from above, as the Communists have already done once. Its strength comes from below, and it relies not on a dictated policy, but on its ability to serve the needs and express the aspirations of the Indian peasants; on the provincial and above all on the village committees, whose task it is to carry on a continuous daily fight against the landlord, the moneylender and the government official, and to interpret the doctrine of *Kisan-Mazdur-Praja Raj*.

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A THOUSAND SOLDIERS WALK OFF TROOPSHIP

Conditions in troopships have been a reason for discontent among British soldiers going overseas throughout the war, and now that hostilities have ended this discontent is coming to the surface and, with demobilisation and other grievances, has caused a number of recent incidents when soldiers have demonstrated their annoyance with present conditions.

At Southampton a thousand men walked off the old Dutch liner *Johan de Witt* on which they were expected to sail back to Italy. The men had been waiting already some two or three weeks in badly run transit camps, and when they reached the ship they found the conditions more than they were prepared to endure. The *News Chronicle* (24/11/45) records the statement of one of the men.

"We boarded the ship at eight o'clock this morning, and conditions have been so bad that we just couldn't stand it. The food was terrible, worse than any prison camp. The best meal offered was bully beef and cheese, and some of us had to queue two and a half hours even for that.

Sanitary arrangements were appalling, with 200 men in the same section sharing 10 wash basins and with one lavatory to 400 men. I was issued with only one blanket. There were twice more than the number expected to sleep in the space aboard.

During our fortnight in camp we were given no soap and we have not been able to get a cigarette on board ship to-day.

Some of us are due for release early in December. Many of us have just had our first leave for 3½ years."

The War Office officials meanwhile state that the accommodation is according to army medical

regulations, and they are ordering an investigation. We suggest that here is an instance for Inspector Whitehead to step in to find out who in the War Office is inciting to disaffection by trying to make men endure in peacetime the kind of conditions which are reminiscent of the eighteenth century convict ships of evil memory.

ZIONISM AND ANTI-SEMITISM

To the Editors of *Freedom*.

DEAR EDITORS,

Your discussion with R. S. Blum on the subject of Zionism should do a good deal to clear the air on this much-debated subject. There seems to me, however, to be one point which the general Press completely ignores, and which is not unimportant in this connection. In Palestine we have in an exaggerated form the deliberate cultivation of religious differences and the mixing of these with political and economic differences. There is little doubt that those powerful vested interests which profit from keeping the people divided have done their best to foster religious divisions, and this has proved very profitable in, say, India or Ireland. The same thing is coming to pass in Palestine. Only if religious differences are no longer allowed to influence people can the political and economic problems be fairly faced. All the politicians and the majority of the religious leaders must know that this is so, and yet the Press will not allow this to be said. An important part of the freeing of mankind is, in fact, the destruction of the religious motive in everyday life.

Yours fraternally,
JOHN ROWLAND.

LIVERPOOL RECORDER REFUSES TO SEND BOYS TO DARTMOOR

Growing concern as to conditions in British military and civilian prisons is finding expression in an ever increasing number of letters and articles in the daily press. The *News Chronicle* of November 24th devotes a whole column of its front page to a letter from a Manchester business man, Mr. G. E. Hobson who served part of a six months' sentence, imposed on him by a naval Court Martial in Winchester Gaol. The prison is filled to capacity, approximately half the inmates being "victims of court martial". There were about 80 prisoners under 21 years of age, the large majority of them naval cases.

"I would not suggest that all these Service men are good types—some, indeed, are guilty of foul physical crimes—but most of them are typical average citizens charged with trivial leave-breaking offences, caused usually under mental stress, and serving amazing sentences ranging up to five years' imprisonment.

"I cannot here go into the horror and degradation of prison life—a matter again on which the general public is woefully ignorant—but many good citizens are in a state of utter despair, hoping almost against hope that there may be something in recurrent rumours that a general amnesty is about to be declared.

"The injury that is being done is serious. It applies not only to the men themselves, but also to their families.

"The problem is a big one, for in addition to the prisons there are 'glass houses' and detention camps, while hundreds are being held at foreign stations awaiting shipment to this country. Further, courts-martial continue with no reduction in frequency, and impose sentences of undiminished severity.

"My own experience shows the severity of Admiralty treatment and is worthy of mention.

"Then a lieutenant in the R.N.V.R., I was tried by court-martial on September 11, 1945. I was 42 years of age and had completed five years of voluntary service, during which time I had an admittedly exemplary record.

"Indeed, in addition to having served in ten different ships, I had volunteered for mine disposal and for special service.

"When almost having reached my expected demobilisation date, and at a time when my request for temporary release was under consideration, I was ordered to take up a new appointment in the Far East. The Admiralty refused my appeal to reconsider the appointment and I declined to take passage to Colombo.

"I was dismissed the Service, 'awarded' forfeiture of campaign stars and medals, gratuity and all other emoluments, and sentenced to six months' imprisonment.

"There is no right of appeal against a

of day. The British public is ultimately responsible for conditions in the prisons, and the public should have the opportunity, through reports in the Press, of forming its own judgment."

The same paper reports that the War Office is investigating allegations that a prisoner in Stakehill Detention Barracks "died in suspicious circumstances last August". It is significant that the attention of the War Office has only now been drawn to an incident which occurred more than three months ago. Such delay is again the result of the secrecy, censorship and fear of reprisals which surround not only detention camps but all the civilian prisons in this country. By holding the Stakehill inquiry in secret the authorities will ensure that many potential witnesses will not come forward, for fear of reprisals. Inquiries into prison conditions will only be valuable when they are held in the full light of day and when representatives of the public are invited as well as officials who have an obvious interest in whitewashing what actually goes on behind the scenes. It is all the duty of all ex-prisoners whether military or civilian to make known their own prison experiences, and such organizations as the FREEDOM DEFENCE COMMITTEE (17, St. George Street, Hanover Square, W.1.) will welcome any such information.

The Recorder of Liverpool, Mr. E. G. Hemmerde, K.C., gave the Home Secretary some-

thing to think over when he recently released 22 youths between the ages of 16 and 19 because he was "revolted at the idea of sending boys to Dartmoor". He added:

"I don't intend to send any boys from Liverpool to Dartmoor—a name which strikes terror into the hearts of the most hardened criminals. The Home Secretary has said it should be destroyed."

At the present time there are more than 200 boys locked up in Wormwood Scrubs Prison where they are kept for as long as six months awaiting accommodation in Borstal institutions (to which they were originally committed, and not to imprisonment). A number of them were recently transferred to Dartmoor. Out of the frying pan into the fire! The prison system is making criminals out of boys who at the most are petty thieves. When is the public going to show a little interest in this problem? Mr. Morrison in the foreword to *Prisons* wrote that "... If harm is done by wrong methods of punishment the whole community is answerable. It is therefore right that every member of the community should have the opportunity of knowing what is done in his name by those responsible for carrying out the methods of punishment provided by the law."

We quite agree with Mr. Morrison. But how can we know what is being done when inquiries are held in secret and the public is not allowed to inspect the prisons and interview the prisoners?

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And so, after six days of consultations and innumerable political combinations, the French crisis is ended. France is endowed with a government of "national unanimity" (!) in which the different parties benefit by an equal partition of posts. But for all that, the ministerial crisis has not been any the less interesting and significant. It has clearly shown to the eyes of the world that the real political problem of France to-day is, in fact, a problem of international policy. In other words, it centres round the question of whether France will belong to the "western bloc" of anglo-saxon imperialism, or to the Europe of Soviet imperialism. It was evidently in accordance with the orders of Moscow that the Communists demanded one of the three ministries whose possession allows direct influence on foreign policy. General de Gaulle addressed the French people on the radio to declare that he could not consent to the demands of the party of Maurice Thorez, as foreign policy should consist of an equilibrium between "two extremely powerful blocs". All this means that de Gaulle, the French nationalist (in 1938, Colonel de Gaulle contributed articles to *Action Française*, the most reactionary French paper), wants his country to become sufficiently powerful to escape from the "spheres of influence" of the Big Three. Will he succeed? For the present, he has just achieved a real success in internal policy. The Communist Party has to accept a compromise, and more and more, as the General has anticipated, the French are

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Adequate food-growing in a high-population country like England can be achieved only by intensive methods, by introducing careful means of organic fertilising, by a scientific selection of pasture grasses, by an adequate tillage of the soil, etc. A healthy soil, with the right bacterial content, will produce healthy plants, and indirectly will benefit animals and man.

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Indeed, it is only through real co-operative organisation among farmers and farmworkers who know the soil and who are ready to use scientific methods in a critical manner that healthy farming is likely to return to English fields.

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"The problem is a big one, for in addition to the prisons there are 'glass houses' and detention camps, while hundreds are being held at foreign stations awaiting shipment to this country. Further, courts-martial continue with no reduction in frequency, and impose sentences of undiminished severity.

"My own experience shows the severity of Admiralty treatment and is worthy of mention.

"Then a lieutenant in the R.N.V.R., I was tried by court-martial on September 11, 1945. I was 42 years of age and had completed five years of voluntary service, during which time I had an admittedly exemplary record.

"Indeed, in addition to having served in ten different ships, I had volunteered for mine disposal and for special service.

"When almost having reached my expected demobilisation date, and at a time when my request for temporary release was under consideration, I was ordered to take up a new appointment in the Far East. The Admiralty refused my appeal to reconsider the appointment and I declined to take passage to Colombo.

"I was dismissed the Service, 'awarded' forfeiture of campaign stars and medals, gratuity and all other emoluments, and sentenced to six months' imprisonment.

"There is no right of appeal against a court-martial sentence. All that is permitted is a personal petition to the Home Secretary. I was fortunate inasmuch as friends acted on their own initiative and secured my release."

As Mr. Hobson himself points out, he was one of the fortunate ones, for there are to-day literally thousands of young servicemen facing long terms of imprisonment who have no chance of redress or hope of their sentences being reduced.

* * *

It will not come as a surprise to learn that the official enquiry into the conditions at Stake Hill military detention camp is to be held in secret. The reason given for excluding the press is that the enquiry is to be of an exclusively military character. The *Reynolds News*, 25th November in its editorial column expresses concern at this decision in and points out that:

"When charges as grave as those levelled at Stake Hill have once been made public, the investigation should be conducted in full light

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That something very substantial was achieved by the War Agricultural Committees cannot be denied, but in a country whose agriculture had become as neglected as that of England between the two wars it did not require any great ingenuity to increase production substantially. If you ploughed up all the lands that had gone out of cultivation since 1880, you were bound, on a mere acreage calculation, to double the quantity of crops produced in the country.

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One interesting point in the pamphlet is the lack of reference to conscientious objectors among the workers in this "great" enterprise. Land girls, refugees, Italian prisoners, are all mentioned, but nothing is said of the large number of C.O.'s who worked on the land. This is noticeable in the particular case of the draining of Swaffham Fen, in Cambridgeshire, which is listed as one of the great achievements. Having been employed as a labourer by the Cambridge W.A.E.C. for some months, I know that a great deal of this work was done by C.O.'s, yet no mention is made of them. Also, in the case of a large area of scrub land near Cambridge, on which I worked for some weeks with fifty other C.O.'s, I have the satisfaction of learning from the pamphlet that the work was all done by land girls and Italian prisoners. Perhaps, however, the omissions in these cases are due to the fact that the Cambridge C.O.'s fought the longest strike for better conditions that took place on the land during the war. GEORGE WOODCOCK

COLOUR BAR



Members of the Women's Transportation Service (F.A.N.Y.) last night walked out of a military dance at Barrackpore, near Calcutta, because they saw personnel of the Women's Auxiliary Corps of India present.

Those in charge of the function returned the W.A.C.I.s to their billets, whereupon the F.A.N.Y.s came back and the dance proceeded.

News Chronicle, 16/11/45.

WIFE ON THE CHEAP

In new white wig and black gown sat Mr. Justice Byrne, to-day, to try his first case as a Divorce judge.

And the first case involved the problem: What is the value of a dying, and allegedly faithless, wife?

Said the husband (an electric train driver, asking for damages in his petition): "£2000."

Said counsel for the co-respondent: "Fantastic."

And added that the marriage was not happy. Unfortunately, too, the wife now had only about two months to live, and the marriage would therefore have ended in any event.

Evening Standard, 20/11/45.

BISHOP ON PSYCHOLOGY



NEUROTIC GETTING BETTER.

The Bishop of Chelmsford stated at the Church Assembly Meeting: "Spiritual bankruptcy is rampant throughout the whole world. The waiting rooms of neurologists and psychiatrists are crowded with people who should be told not to take another round of golf or another week-end at the seaside but to go and say their prayers."

News Chronicle, 15/11/45.

SUCCESSFUL HUNGER STRIKE

A 12-day hunger strike by Manuel Talley, 27-year-old Los Angeles C.O., succeeded last month in ending racial segregation in the dining hall of the Federal Prison Camp here.

As a result of Talley's action, certain tables in the dining hall have been set aside for those members of different races who desire to eat together. This change eliminates segregation completely from the camp, for there was no separation in regard to living quarters, work assignments, recreation, or other aspects of camp life.

The Conscientious Objector U.S.A., Oct. 45.

WORKERS' VIEW ON

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News Chronicle, 16/11/45.

WORKERS' VIEW ON RUSSIA

The British worker's standard of living is well ahead of the Russian worker's, in the opinion of a delegation of iron and steel workers who toured the Soviet Union last summer.

The workers are keen, and every girl seems to want to be an engineer in Russia; but little importance is attached to the care of the machines.

"Proper maintenance is something that not only the workmen but those higher up seem to regard as of no consequence.

"The idea seems to be to keep the wheels running. The rest does not matter much. The proverb, 'a stitch in time saves nine,' has very little currency in Russia.

"In spite of all the propaganda drives, stories of fabulous increases in production, and the claims of the Stakhanovite records, we believe the output per man is considerably lower than with us."

Too much in Russia, the delegation reports, has been done in a hurry to impress the world. Some of the big workers' flats that look so well in the brochures "are already becoming the slums of this generation."

News Chronicle, 17/11/45.

SCANDALOUS SITUATION IN HOSPITALS

In the recently published North-western Hospitals Survey it was stated that in Cumberland—as in many other places—there was a "marked deficiency of beds for surgical conditions . . . and still more for medical conditions and for maternity." In the annual report of the Cumberland County Medical Officer we now learn what is meant by these dispassionate phrases. The Cumberland Infirmary, writes Dr. Fraser, "has a waiting-list of approximately 1,000 persons . . . actively in need of surgical and medical attention, sometimes desperately in need of such attention . . . and during the past twelve months the waiting-list has steadily risen. Even cases of cancer have waited long periods for admission, and with regard to the non-urgent cases, such as ruptures, my own view . . . is that some people will be lucky if they are attended to in five years' time from now."

Manchester Guardian, 2/11/45.

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The Conscientious Objector U.S.A., Oct. 45.

Through the Press

LAND FIT FOR HEROES

At 19, Pte. Francis Summerill, of the Royal Warwickshire Regiment, came home from the war—minus a leg. He had served in France and Germany.

He was notified that his disability pension would be 100 per cent. for two weeks, and would then be reduced to 40 per cent.—16s. a week.

Last Saturday, after telling his fiancée that he could not face life on a 16s. a week pension, he shot himself in his bedroom.

News Chronicle, 21/11/45.

PRINCIPLES OF DICTATORSHIP

The qualities in a man that will determine his success as a military leader were expounded yesterday by Field-Marshal Sir Bernard L. Montgomery in a lecture at St. Andrews University under the auspices of the Walker Trust, which stipulates that the lecture must be on an aspect of leadership.

Field-Marshal Montgomery selected as his theme "Military Leadership," and said—"If you aspire to lead soldiers you must make a close study of human nature. If you neglect the human factor as a leader you will fail."

The qualities of leadership he defined as "the will to dominate, together with the character which inspires confidence," and emphasised he did not believe that to-day a commander could inspire armies and lead them to great victories unless he had a proper sense of religious truth.

Glasgow Herald, 16/11/45.

HIGHWAY CODE

Buddhist Society. Public lecture by Mr. Christmas Humphreys, on The Middle Way, entitled "Walk On".

Advert. New Statesman, 24/11/45.

NOW WE KNOW

It has been estimated that about one in three of India's vast population of 400 millions do not get enough to eat, and that a still larger proportion suffers from malnutrition. An analysis suggests that in the absence of major calamities the population will increase to 500,000,000 in 20 or 25 years' time. Sir John Woodhead, adviser to the Secretary of State for India, gave these facts yesterday when speaking in London.

The diet of large numbers of Indians lacks a sufficient amount of such protective foods as pulses, vegetables, fruit, fish, meat, milk, and eggs. Lack of purchasing power is probably the main cause of malnutrition.

Manchester Guardian, 15/11/45.

For once it is admitted that "lack of purchasing power" (wonderful expression for poverty) is the cause of malnutrition (this probably stands for starvation) in India. Ignorance and prejudice on the question of diet are generally given as the causes.

THE KEY TO THE ITALIAN SITUATION

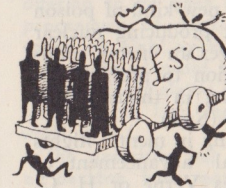
American interests have warned Italy that no U.S. financial assistance will be given unless she abandons all plans for socialism and postpones a decision on the monarchy.

The Chicago banker Giannini has stated bluntly that a strong Right-Wing Government is a pre-requisite before any dollars are passed to Rome.

The Vatican also has a finger in the pie, leading a campaign against the execution of guilty Fascists.

Reynolds News, 18/11/45.

DEFINITION



'BUS - 1945 MODEL.

May I point out that the L.P.T.B. is not a socialised institution, but a hybrid. Though limitations are imposed on them, its directors must still aim at a profit. A bus is a contrivance on four wheels that earns a restricted dividend.

Letter to New Statesman, 17/11/45.

SHIPPING SPACE LOGIC

Tired of waiting for their English brides hundreds of demobilised Canadian Service men are flooding shipping offices here with requests for passages back to Britain.

Two hundred are reported to be sailing in the *Queen Elizabeth* when she leaves Halifax next Friday.

News Chronicle, 16/11/45.

TYRANNY OF THE CLOCK

Busworkers being among the first to feel the juicy impact of scientific progress, are pioneer in thought. What Bussies think to-day England will think to-morrow—or when it wakes up.

As an example: Just before the war the Bussies struck for a particularly sensible reason which the general public hasn't yet grasped. They struck not for more money but for more time.

The importance of this was that it called attention to the outstanding feature of 100 years' progress, which is that it hasn't done what set out to do.

If there is one thing more than another which may be said to have been the main object of century's scientific inventions, it was to Save Time. Yet as far as the majority of people are concerned there is less time than ever.

Yaffle in Reynolds News, 18/11/45.

RECORDER REFUSES TO BOYS TO DARTMOOR

of day. The British public is ultimately responsible for conditions in the prisons, and the public should have the opportunity, through reports in the Press, of forming its own judgment."

The same paper reports that the War Office is investigating allegations that a prisoner in Stakehill Detention Barracks "died in suspicious circumstances last August". It is significant that the attention of the War Office has only now been drawn to an incident which occurred more than three months ago. Such delay is again the result of the secrecy, censorship and fear of reprisals which surround not only detention camps but all the civilian prisons in this country. By holding the Stakehill inquiry in secret the authorities will ensure that many potential witnesses will not come forward, for fear of reprisals. Inquiries into prison conditions will only be valuable when they are held in the full light of day and when representatives of the public are invited as well as officials who have an obvious interest in whitewashing what actually goes on behind the scenes. It is all the duty of all ex-prisoners whether military or civilian to make known their own prison experiences, and such organizations as the FREEDOM DEFENCE COMMITTEE (17, St. George Street, Hanover Square, W.1.) will welcome any such information.

The Recorder of Liverpool, Mr. E. G. Hemmerde, K.C., gave the Home Secretary some-

thing to think over when he recently released 22 youths between the ages of 16 and 19 because he was "revolted at the idea of sending boys to Dartmoor". He added:

"I don't intend to send any boys from Liverpool to Dartmoor—a name which strikes terror into the hearts of the most hardened criminals. The Home Secretary has said it should be destroyed."

At the present time there are more than 200 boys locked up in Wormwood Scrubs Prison where they are kept for as long as six months awaiting accommodation in Borstal institutions (to which they were originally committed, and not to imprisonment). A number of them were recently transferred to Dartmoor. Out of the frying pan into the fire! The prison system is making criminals out of boys who at the most are petty thieves. When is the public going to show a little interest in this problem? Mr. Morrison in the foreword to *Prisons* wrote that "... If harm is done by wrong methods of punishment the whole community is answerable. It is therefore right that every member of the community should have the opportunity of knowing what is done in his name by those responsible for carrying out the methods of punishment provided by the law."

We quite agree with Mr. Morrison. But how can we know what is being done when inquiries are held in secret and the public is not allowed to inspect the prisons and interview the prisoners?

French Commentary

By our French Correspondent

And so, after six days of consultations and innumerable political combinations, the French crisis is ended. France is endowed with a government of "national unanimity" (!) in which the different parties benefit by an equal partition of posts. But for all that, the ministerial crisis has not been any the less interesting and significant. It has clearly shown to the eyes of the world that the real political problem of France to-day is, in fact, a problem of international policy. In other words, it centres round the question of whether France will belong to the "western bloc" of anglo-saxon imperialism, or to the Europe of Soviet imperialism. It was evidently in accordance with the orders of Moscow that the Communists demanded one of the three ministries whose possession allows direct influence on foreign policy. General de Gaulle addressed the French people on the radio to declare that he could not consent to the demands of the party of Maurice Thorez, as foreign policy should consist of an equilibrium between "two extremely powerful blocs". All this means that de Gaulle, the French nationalist (in 1938, Colonel de Gaulle contributed articles to *Action Française*, the most reactionary French paper), wants his country to become sufficiently powerful to escape from the "spheres of influence" of the Big Three. Will he succeed? For the present, he has just achieved a real success in internal policy. The Communist Party has to accept a compromise, and more and more, as the General has anticipated, the French are

dividing themselves between "Gaullists" and "Communists", the first evidently being more numerous than the second. But the ministry and the Constituent Assembly are, once again, "provisional" formations, and it is probable that we shall have, in seven months (*i.e.* at the time of the termination of the mandate of the actual assembly) a new "French crisis" which will perhaps be decisive for the policy of France in the years to come. We shall know then if de Gaulle has the makings of a dictator, or if he will have, on the contrary, to go away in order to give place to a government of a "Union of the Left" (in other words, a government under the authority of the Communist Party). But the issue of this "provisionally" resolved conflict depends to a great extent on the evolution of another conflict, that which since the end of hostilities has brought the opposition in Europe of Washington, London and Moscow.

"THE PEOPLE'S ARMY".

In the countries of Western Europe, many workers still believe sincerely that the Communist Party is the first enemy of militarism. However, the policy which the Stalinists are adopting openly to-day should suffice to enlighten them. Since the "liberation" of France, it is the Communist Party which, of all the French parties, shows itself the most intent on demanding the constitution of a powerful "new army." No doubt it is fighting against the old "reactionary and Vichyite" formations of the army, but it is in order to demand the building of new formations, younger, more instructed in "new techniques", and, above all, "more patriotic"! It cannot be said that this is a tactic destined to destroy the army; it is now more and more clear that the Communist Party to-day wishes for a strong and devoted army, because it knows that the army is the essential instrument for the seizure of power and for the oppression that succeeds it. Some weeks ago, the French Communist weekly *Action* demanded the better treatment of officers. *Action* claimed that, the function of the officer being one of the noblest civic vocations, it was indispensable that those who chose it should be paid in conformity with the dignity of their function!

THE SERVILE REGULATION OF
PROSTITUTION BY THE FRENCH
STATE.

A book which has just been published in France reveals in detail the frightful condition of prostitutes in that country. Let us say immediately that the author of this book Maxence van der Meersch, is a Catholic, and that we do not approve in any way the "moral" arguments which he invokes against prostitution. But his book is extremely interesting, because it explains the legal mechanism by which the French police

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In any case, whatever has been achieved has been done more through the initiative of individual farmers and landworkers than by the efforts of the Committees. The representatives of these organisations have consisted for the most part either of office bureaucrats with little knowledge of farming, or of bankrupt farmers and rural drunkards who were efficient only at feathering their own nests. In my experience, men with a genuine instinct for farming or a scientific knowledge of agriculture were very exceptional. Some of the cropping orders issued to farmers were almost too ridiculous to believe—such as turning over rich market garden land

to wheat, etc., and one has only to look through the wartime issues of farmers' and market gardeners' periodicals to get an idea of the stupidity with which the Committees interfered in matters of which they had no real knowledge. The real work was often done by co-operation among the farmers where the inefficiency of the Committees had led to an accidental decentralisation of function. The only really useful purpose fulfilled by the Committees was the provision of plant, seed, fertilisers, etc., and even this could have been done a good deal more efficiently by farmers' co-operatives, as had been shown many years before the war by Danish and Irish organisations of this kind.

Indeed, it is only through real co-operative organisation among farmers and farmworkers who know the soil and who are ready to use scientific methods in a critical manner that healthy farming is likely to return to English fields.

One interesting point in the pamphlet is the lack of reference to conscientious objectors among the workers in this "great" enterprise. Land girls, refugees, Italian prisoners, are all mentioned, but nothing is said of the large number of C.O.'s who worked on the land. This is noticeable in the particular case of the draining of Swaffham Fen, in Cambridgeshire, which is listed as one of the great achievements. Having been employed as a labourer by the Cambridge W.A.E.C. for some months, I know that a great deal of this work was done by C.O.'s, yet no mention is made of them. Also, in the case of a large area of scrub land near Cambridge, on which I worked for some weeks with fifty other C.O.'s, I have the satisfaction of learning from the pamphlet that the work was all done by land girls and Italian prisoners. Perhaps, however, the omissions in these cases are due to the fact that the Cambridge C.O.'s fought the longest strike for better conditions that took place on the land during the war. GEORGE WOODCOCK

to wheat, etc., and one has only to look through the wartime issues of farmers' and market gardeners' periodicals to get an idea of the stupidity with which the Committees interfered in matters of which they had no real knowledge. The real work was often done by co-operation among the farmers where the inefficiency of the Committees had led to an accidental decentralisation of function. The only really useful purpose fulfilled by the Committees was the provision of plant, seed, fertilisers, etc., and even this could have been done a good deal more efficiently by farmers' co-operatives, as had been shown many years before the war by Danish and Irish organisations of this kind.

THE SERVILE REGULATION OF PROSTITUTION BY THE FRENCH STATE.

A book which has just been published in France reveals in detail the frightful condition of prostitutes in that country. Let us say immediately that the author of this book Maxence van der Meersch, is a Catholic, and that we do not approve in any way the "moral" arguments which he invokes against prostitution. But his book is extremely interesting, because it explains the legal mechanism by which the French police reduce the prostitutes to veritable slavery. He points out that, once registered as prostitutes, the girls are completely deprived of the most elementary civil rights. When they belong to a brothel (one of those establishments which the French law primly calls "houses of tolerance"), they do not have the right to go out from there, unless accompanied by a police officer. Very often, women are shut up in these houses against their wills, after having succumbed to the blackmail of a police informer. The hygienic conditions of the "houses" are so deplorable that most of the women become incapable, at the end of a few years, of carrying on their occupation.

Such are the conditions to which are submitted several tens of thousands of women in the land of Liberty and of the Declaration of the Rights of Man. Apart from that, the Nazis are alone in having wished to "re-establish slavery" and in having attacked the "dignity of the individual" . . .

WIFE ON THE CHEAP

In new white wig and black gown sat Mr. Justice Byrne, to-day, to try his first case as a divorce judge.

And the first case involved the problem: What is the value of a dying, and allegedly worthless, wife?

Said the husband (an electric train driver, asking for damages in his petition): "£2000."

Said counsel for the co-respondent: "Fantasy."

And added that the marriage was not happy. Unfortunately, too, the wife now had only about two months to live, and the marriage would therefore have ended in any event.

Evening Standard, 20/11/45.

BISHOP ON PSYCHOLOGY

The Bishop of Chelmsford stated at the Church Assembly Meeting: "Spiritual bankruptcy is rampant throughout the whole world. The waiting rooms of neurologists and psychiatrists are crowded with people who should be told not to take another round of golf or another week-end at the seaside but to go and say their prayers."

News Chronicle, 15/11/45.



NEUROTIC GETTING BETTER.

SUCCESSFUL HUNGER STRIKE

A 12-day hunger strike by Manuel Talley, 27-year-old Los Angeles C.O., succeeded last month in ending racial segregation in the dining hall of the Federal Prison Camp here.

As a result of Talley's action, certain tables in the dining hall have been set aside for those members of different races who desire to eat together. This change eliminates segregation completely from the camp, for there was no separation in regard to living quarters, work assignments, recreation, or other aspects of camp life.

The Conscientious Objector U.S.A., Oct. 45.

GLASS TUBE PRODUCT

He is Mr. Alum Price, a London accountant, who until the age of 16, was an inmate of the National Children's Home and Orphanage, and he was giving evidence before the Care of Children Committee. Miss Myra Curtis was presiding.

Mr. Price said he entered the orphanage at the age of two and remained in its care, being

moved from once branch to another, till he was 16.

Describing his life at the home, he said at the age of nine he was asked to sign the pledge that he would abstain from alcoholic liquor for the rest of his life. That was still a rule of the



Through the Press

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Evening Standard, 20/11/45.

BISTOP ON THE PSYCHOLOGY OF HUNGER STRIKE
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CLASS TUBE PRODUCE
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Describing his life at the home, he said at the age of nine he was asked to sign the pledge that he would abstain from alcoholic liquor for the rest of his life. That was still a rule of the home, and after signing, the children were given badges, though they had no idea of the meaning of them.
"When I was 16 I had not read a single national newspaper. I understood nothing of politics. I have only lived 12 years—that is during the years since I left the home. I was deprived of two essential things—love and happiness."
Evening Standard, 17/11/45.



Through the Press

LAND FIT FOR HEROES

At 19, Pte. Francis Summerill, of the Royal Warwickshire Regiment, came home from the war—minus a leg. He had served in France and Germany.
He was notified that his disability pension would be 100 per cent. for two weeks, and would then be reduced to 40 per cent.—16s. a week.
Last Saturday, after telling his fiancée that he could not face life on a 16s. a week pension, he shot himself in his bedroom.
News Chronicle, 21/11/45.

PRINCIPLES OF DICTATORSHIP

The qualities in a man that will determine his success as a military leader were expounded yesterday by Field-Marshal Sir Bernard L. Montgomery in a lecture at St. Andrews University under the auspices of the Walker Trust, which stipulates that the lecture must be on an aspect of leadership.
Field-Marshal Montgomery selected as his theme "Military Leadership," and said—"If you aspire to lead soldiers you must make a close study of human nature. If you neglect the human factor as a leader you will fail."
The qualities of leadership he defined as "the will to dominate, together with the character which inspires confidence," and emphasised he did not believe that to-day a commander could inspire armies and lead them to great victories unless he had a proper sense of religious truth.
Glasgow Herald, 16/11/45.

HIGHWAY CODE

Buddhist Society. Public lecture by Mr. Christmas Humphreys, on The Middle Way, entitled "Walk On".
Advert. New Statesman, 24/11/45.

NOW WE KNOW

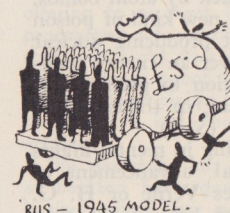
It has been estimated that about one in three of India's vast population of 400 millions do not get enough to eat, and that a still larger proportion suffers from malnutrition. An analysis suggests that in the absence of major calamities the population will increase to 500,000,000 in 20 or 25 years' time. Sir John Woodhead, adviser to the Secretary of State for India, gave these facts yesterday when speaking in London.
The diet of large numbers of Indians lacks a sufficient amount of such protective foods as pulses, vegetables, fruit, fish, meat, milk, and eggs. Lack of purchasing power is probably the main cause of malnutrition.
Manchester Guardian, 15/11/45.

For once it is admitted that "lack of purchasing power" (wonderful expression for poverty) is the cause of malnutrition (this probably stands for starvation) in India. Ignorance and prejudice on the question of diet are generally given as the causes.

THE KEY TO THE ITALIAN SITUATION

American interests have warned Italy that no U.S. financial assistance will be given unless she abandons all plans for socialism and postpones a decision on the monarchy.
The Chicago banker Giannini has stated bluntly that a strong Right-Wing Government is a pre-requisite before any dollars are passed to Rome.
The Vatican also has a finger in the pie, leading a campaign against the execution of guilty Fascists.
Reynolds News, 18/11/45.

DEFINITION



May I point out that the L.P.T.B. is not a socialised institution, but a hybrid. Though limitations are imposed on them, its directors must still aim at a profit. A bus is a contrivance on four wheels that earns a restricted dividend.
Letter to *New Statesman*, 17/11/45.

SHIPPING SPACE LOGIC

Tired of waiting for their English brides, hundreds of demobilised Canadian Service men are flooding shipping offices here with requests for passages back to Britain.
Two hundred are reported to be sailing in the *Queen Elizabeth* when she leaves Halifax next Friday.
News Chronicle, 16/11/45.

TYRANNY OF THE CLOCK

Busworkers being among the first to feel the juicy impact of scientific progress, are pioneers in thought. What Bussies think to-day, England will think to-morrow—or when it wakes up.
As an example: Just before the war the Bussies struck for a particularly sensible reason, which the general public hasn't yet grasped. They struck not for more money but for more time.
The importance of this was that it called attention to the outstanding feature of 100 year's progress, which is that it hasn't done what it set out to do.
If there is one thing more than another which may be said to have been the main object of a century's scientific inventions, it was to Save Time. Yet as far as the majority of people are concerned there is less time than ever.
Yaffle in Reynolds News, 18/11/45.

PATIENT'S DILEMMA

A doctor friend said to me the other day: "I've had to stop putting American magazines in my waiting room. Their technicolor food advertisements upset my patients, whose food is so monochromatic."
Polycritic in *New Statesman*, 17/11/45.

TROTSKYIST HISTORY

The weekly, *Sunday Dispatch*, devotes the whole of its front page to the Trotskyists and describes our comrade Jock Haston, general secretary of the Party, as a "particularly dangerous man". This is not at all surprising. Though they have not instigated the strike the Trotskyists are the only political party which has entirely solidarised itself with the strike and which has done everything in its power to help morally and materially the strikers to defend and spread their movement. Already during the war, in 1944, our comrades were the only people who supported the miners' strike in Wales. At that time comrade Haston had been put into prison but was liberated owing to the pressure of the workers.
La Lutte Ouvrière, Belgian Trotskyist paper, 20/10/45.

Really, comrades, this is going a bit far. The dockers' strike has received the support of the I.L.P., the Anarchists, a large section of the Labour Party and even the Communist Party! As far as Haston is concerned he was freed after his sentence was quashed by a court of appeal on a technical legal point.
This deliberate distortion of history is strangely reminiscent of Stalinist tactics.

Anarchist Commentary

The Kelly Case.

The wrongful arrest of James Kelly, an official of the Association of Engineering and Ship-building Draughtsmen, by the Southampton Police, has brought to the surface a tendency in the modern state which we have indicated for a long time. The callous lack of consideration for the convenience of the individual and the willfulness of the police to "get their man" without the least shred of real evidence in this case, are in themselves disgusting enough. The whole proceedings were conducted on the evidence of one man who *thought* he recognised Kelly, and on the fact that Kelly's head fitted a hat found on the dog race track where he was accused of attempting to pick pockets! On this evidence the police arrested him, refused him the opportunity to establish his identity or to make contact with a solicitor when the charge was made, and even went to the extent of taking photographs and fingerprints *before* the case was heard. The crowning indignity was that, after the magistrates had accepted Kelly's overwhelming evidence that he could not possibly have been anywhere near the dog track where he was accused of picking pockets, they acquitted him but refused to grant him costs against the police.

The liberal newspapers have taken up this case with great indignation. But, while we do not wish to minimise the enormity of the indignities imposed on Kelly, we consider that it would be unfortunate if the impression were to be gained that this is an isolated piece of arbitrary action on the part of the police. In fact, working class people who come up against the police are used to treatment of this kind, and many innocent men have gone to prison on scanty or even faked police evidence. The personal treatment given by the police varies according to social position, and it was merely the accident that they made the mistake of according a trade union leader the kind of treatment usually meted out to rank and file workers that brought the case to the public notice.

The danger in this case is that the authorities may even benefit by it, if they carry out disciplinary action against some scapegoat, and then turn round and point to the virtues of a system that is willing even to punish the wrongdoer in its midst. It should be made clear everywhere that the nature of authority always tends to make police action arbitrary. The police are not concerned with justice. They are merely concerned to find a culprit, and if he happens to be the wrong man, they are not over scrupulous, provided they can get sufficient evidence to convict him. The whole police system of promotions is so much bound up with successful prosecutions, that the police are always tempted to lie, to conceal facts, to bully and cajole their victims, merely in order to gain

hospitals matrons are often also ward sisters, theatre sisters, midwives, radiographers—and even cooks. General nursing conditions: "Thankless drudgery."

This is at a time when many thousands of doctors, nurses and medical orderlies are kept in the army, with very little to do, and no new battle casualties coming in. The medical wing of an army is built up on the basis of maximum casualties, and in peace time when civilian needs are not met in any adequate way, it is criminal to keep people with valuable experience and capabilities of medical and hospital work away from the places where their work could be of most communal use.

Red Indians on the Warpath.

The Red Indians of childhood adventure have declined into one of the most neglected of colonial subject peoples. The continual wars of the whites against them, the ravages of disease and unfamiliar conditions have reduced them to a pitiful minority among the mass of white people in Canada. But, although we hear little about them, they have grievances as great as those of the American or African negroes, and they are beginning to assume a militant attitude towards their problems. Indian Associations are appearing in all the Canadian provinces, and an all-Canadian Indian conference is expected in Ottawa shortly.

The Indians have no political rights except as a subject people. They have no vote, no parliamentary representation, and their affairs are managed by a section of the Department of Mines and Resources. Their economic position is miserable, they have scanty medical services, and their children are often forcibly taken away from them for a year at a time to be educated away from home because no reasonable facilities are given in the reservations. In spite of all this, their young men are forced into the army, to fight for a democracy they do not enjoy. The new militancy of the Indians was shown in an admirable speech by Reuben Bull at the Alberta Indian conference recently. Declaring that "working for the common good of all is the basic principle," Reuben Bull went on to say,

"We Indians feel that we have not been treated in the past as if we were members of

the human family or like citizens of Canada. Nor do we feel that we are at present considered worthy to participate in the benefits arising from the modern way of thinking. We resent this as an insult to the dignity of man in us, that feeling which we have inherited from our worthy fathers, whose advance toward a brighter life has been so cruelly interrupted by the unscrupulous usurpers of our rights . . .

"When our country suffered a depression and the government found it necessary to relieve the situation by various relief measures, we Indians were not considered for the same benefits; and we starved when our neighbours, some of whom were not even required to be Canadian citizens, were given help by the government . . .

"When all the people of the provinces are having schools in their communities, our children are taken from us and we don't see them for a year at a time. Do our children need the loving companionship of their mothers and fathers less than the white children? . . .

"Why do our sons fight for the principle of democracy when at home we Indians are not accorded the simple fundamentals of decent living? . . . We Indians are sometimes subjected to the kind of indignities that our Fascist enemies have inflicted on freedom-loving people. This situation makes it difficult for us to distinguish between the evils we have heard about in Fascism and the democracy we are fighting for. Is there a special justice for Indians? We don't believe it. We fight for our rights. We would rather be dead heroes, worthy of our forefathers, than be like rats, a shame to our ancestors, a disgrace to our children. When the Four Freedoms finally come to this world—may we have our share?"

Working Class Peers!

The millionaires and crusted reactionaries are beginning to recognise that a Labour Government may not be a bad thing for their interests after all. The Stock Exchange continues rosy. Admiral Evans, who spoke from Tory platforms a few weeks back, suddenly blossoms out as a Labour peer. And now, after a century in which the name of his family has been a byword for fabulous wealth and financial power, Lord Rothschild takes out his party ticket. Could the Labour Party wish a better reference for its respectability?

ITALIAN ANARCH

The first Italian national Anarchist Congress, since the Fascists came to power has recently been held in Carrara, a small town in the northern tip of Tuscany famous the world over for its marble, and well known to the Italian proletariat for the staunch struggle its people have unremittently sustained against the State, the capitalists and Fascism.

The most important decisions reached by the congress were:

1. To enter and make use of the existing Liberation Committees for local class-demands and to attempt their decentralisation as they are now mostly a means of political control and propaganda on the part of the five parties officially recognised;
2. To intensify as much as possible the struggle against the Church, in contrast with the attitude taken by most parties in this respect, particularly by the Communist party;
3. To counteract the work of the political parties who still try to deceive the people by the myth of the Constituent Assembly and of democratic elections, and to work for the spreading and success of free local initiatives and direct action;
4. To agitate within the existing Trade Unions the libertarian will to direct action, to form groups everywhere of Syndicalist Defence, and to co-ordinate their work by means of a Syndicate Committee formed by the most expert and active members of the movement.

As for the organisation of the movement itself it was unanimously agreed that it should be elastic, strongly decentralised, with no authority either at the centre or in the outskirts, while still affording the possibility and the actual means for permanent contacts between different groups, and for a co-ordinated general action should the political situation demand it.

Dealing with the problems of foreign policy, the Congress has reaffirmed the Anarchists' anti-national role, resistance to hate-mongers and propagandists of anti-semitic and other racial idiocies, and has insisted that a better knowledge of other peoples should be promoted, of the Spanish people in particular.

The God Almighty Atom

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Hospital Chaos.

A few days ago a child who had been given an operation for the removal of tonsils and adenoids bled to death in a Manchester Children's Hospital because there was no surgeon on duty to treat her. This is only one of the more sensational results of the present state of the hospitals, which are now completely understaffed, and whose nurses and medical staff are badly overworked. According to George Buchanan, 1,500 T.B. cases in Scotland are awaiting sanatorium treatment, while 500 beds are lying empty for lack of the nurses to tend them. According to the *News Review* (22/11/45).

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The God Almighty Atom

Dropping the atom bomb on Hiroshima on August 6th was a bad business. The effect on the imagination is dumbfounding. As yet the full horrible significance has not been completely grasped. After all, the people are only now beginning to get used to the idea of peace following second war horrors, and to contemplate the fearful conflagration of a third war plus atom bomb is still beyond their imagination.

The first bomb dropped killed 100,000 people, maimed twice as many, destroyed every living being over a wide area and, quoting from Dr. Harold Jacobson who worked on the atom bomb "made Hiroshima uninhabitable for 70 years." This bomb was a baby as far as potentiality goes. "It is not theoretically possible to produce a less powerful bomb than that which destroyed Hiroshima" said Sir George Thomson, chairman of the Atomic Energy Committee.

Speaking of "this terrible new weapon," General George F. Marshall, Chief of the General Staff, U.S. Army, says "It is not difficult to predict super-sonic atomic rockets travelling faster than sound." Even though the first atom bomb was but the small beginning, a technical crudity, it is, nevertheless, a fiendish instrument of death and destruction—an experiment (apparently successful) in mass destruction of human life on which the combined brains of the scientist, militarist and politician were devoted, producing the greatest insane monstrosity ever perpetuated by mankind on its own species.

Abolish War

We have insufficient technical data concerning atomic fission to attempt any scientific analysis or forecast developments in the field of super-sonic rockets. For this we must rely on the little information which the experts let drop. Their forecasts for war, based on scientific facts, are of contraptions travelling at colossal speed to smash at pin-pointed targets thousands of miles away with a force 12,000 times more destructive than the very latest in T.N.T. developments.

At this moment the grave peril of the human race is more readily recognised by the scientist than the layman. Warning after warning is coming from the Professors of Physics. This

Murder has led to mass murder; mass murder has led to universal insane warfare, which in the end can lead to the complete elimination of the human species from the earth.

This hideous machine of massacre is not the product of the evil genius of some crazy penologist, but the calculated results of long labour and deliberations by leading militarists, famous politicians, engineers and 125,000 workers. In extenuation of the workers it is true that most of them at the E. I. DuPont de Nemours and Co. plant at Hanford, U.S.A. were unaware of what they were helping to produce. Workers have Hobson's choice anyway.

Democracy, what crimes have been committed in thy name! Governments pursuing nationalistic ambitions poured £500,000,000 into the production of the monstrosity; in the name of the common people they produced this tremendous threat to life itself.

Once the secret of the atom bomb has been uncovered it cannot be covered up again. The discovery is here, damnably here, and it matters little that common sentiment is in favour of abolition. The pre-atom period is unalterable, and no moral jugglery can blind us to the facts of Hiroshima and Nagasaki—shocking though the facts are, the vital problem cannot be met with an attitude of ethical amnesia. The threat of the atom bomb is not confined to the oriental peoples. It is a grave threat to the continuance of existence of life everywhere. The peoples of Britain, America, France and Russia are all possible victims.

It is true that simultaneously with the annihilation of these cities in Japan, came the glory of conquest. The anticipated victory from which the politicians of the United Nations told us would come security from aggression, want and fear has arrived. If the purpose of the war was to remove the fear of future war and to abolish aggression from the earth (and this is precisely what the man in the street did believe) then the six years of suffering have been in vain. The discovery and development of atomic fission has bred suspicion and fear. Yesterday's allies now hold dark suspicions of each other. Former areas of friendship have been diminishing since

reprinted by H.M. Stationery Office:

"As to the future . . . there will be improvements both in the processes of producing fissionable material and in its use. It is conceivable that totally different methods may be discovered for converting matter into energy . . . Should a scheme be devised for converting to energy even as much as a few per cent. of the matter of some common material, civilisation would have the means to commit suicide at will." (page 134).

The people of Hiroshima did not commit suicide, they were murdered.

The Perilous Road

The conditions which outraged, killed and diseased mankind in world wars one and two form the old and familiar background to the present atom race. The causes of the previous wars are to remain. Added to inequality, suppression, secular and national interests is the atom bomb 'to scatter blight and death and dearth wherever mortal man is found'. Already are the politicians and technicians travelling the perilous road to world war three.

The decision as to whether people shall be killed off or not rests with the politicians, who have proved their incapacity to solve even the most elementary problems in society. Wars begin in the minds of men. War psychology is clearly revealed in the following Government statement on the atom bomb:—

"A weapon has been developed that is potentially destructive beyond the wildest nightmares of imagination. A weapon so ideally suited to the sudden unannounced attack that a country's cities might be destroyed over-night by an ostensibly friendly power . . . We (the U.S.A.) have an initial advantage in time because so far as we know, other countries have not been able to carry out parallel developments during the war period. We also have a general advantage in scientific and particularly in industrial strength, but such an advantage can easily be thrown away." (*Atomic Energy* c. 13, para 2 August 1945).

This is the considered statement of the U.S.

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● POLICY

empty for lack of the nurses to tend them. According to the *News Review* (22/11/45):

"A Health Ministry Report of conditions at Midland hospitals said many nurses have to deal with 60 patients or more. At cottage

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and destruction—another experiment (apparently successful) in mass destruction of human life on which the combined brains of the scientist, militarist and politician were devoted, producing the greatest insane monstrosity ever perpetuated by mankind on its own species.

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"Of all industrialised countries, Britain is the most vulnerable to attack by atom bombs. Radioactive by-products (a new kind of poison gas as it were) of a plant producing nuclear energy could be sprayed over an enemy country in sufficient concentration to prohibit the survival of any living thing in thousands of square miles of country." (*Star*).

This scientist is not engaging in mental flights of fancy, but stating actual 'advancement of scientific discovery'. A Jules Verne or H. G. Wells futurist story come to life: not a mad dream but horrible reality.

Professor James Chadwick, whom you may remember as the scientist who is being brought back from the U.S.A. to take charge of atom development in this country, made the noteworthy and revealing statement that some of his colleagues refused to work on the atom bomb "for fear that they might be creating a planet-destroying monster".

We may take it for granted that there was some long and hard thinking amongst these scientists before they took their decision of renunciation. Professor Oliphant gives voice to the fears of his colleagues, declaring that "the only complete solution is offered by a mutual determination of all peace-loving countries of the world to give up completely the use of war".

Intensified Nationalism

The story of Hiroshima opens a new chapter for mankind. The pre-atom period of history dragged mankind through fantastic suffering and crazy behaviour to the edge of a precipice. Travelling the path that it has, humanity was certain at some time or another to reach the edge of the abyss. Had humanity not reached this present dilemma, (a direction in which all efforts and intelligence had been moving for so long) then no basis for reasoning would be acceptable.

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Fear and suspicion are tearing down every attempt of the politicians to confer on the control of atomic power. Mr. Molotov admitted as much when commenting on the recent conference of Foreign Ministers in London. "At the conference table I have to spend hours in arguing with logic; Mr. Byrnes has only to hold up a piece of atom bomb." To-day, faced with the failure of international agreement, the foreign secretaries go home and shut the door behind them to join the scientist and engineer in an attempt to make 'bigger and better' atom bombs. So opens a period of new and intensified nationalism.

New Arms Race

Common sense impels us to state that the present activity to produce these violent weapons is a frightful arms race adjusted to the latest means of destruction. As a consequence future foreign policies will be decided in accordance with the latest scientific reports from Didcot, Hanford and the Urals. Faced with the gravest problem that has ever confronted mankind the best politicians can offer is to intensify the danger. Already they have finished their battle against the scientist for possession, and have vested in the hands of those hypocritical politicians, who at Yalta and Potsdam promised heaven but produced hell on earth, the fantastic murderous weapon.

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This is the considered statement of the U.S.A. government and not the dramatic writings in a sensational news paper. We are familiar with this type of statement for it has often been used as war propaganda against the Nazis, showing clearly that the minds and intentions behind the production and use of V weapons are practically identical.

Curse or Blessing

What then is the answer to this dramatic human dilemma? A part of the answer is found in the fact that all the research on atomic fission has been towards the production of weapons of destruction, whereas we should recognise that the splitting of the atom and subsequent development can be stupendously constructive. The staggering discovery need be of no greater significance than the switching on of electric light in your kitchen, except for the possible innovation of producing cars driven by nuclear power and houses lit by radioactive lamps, also the degrading and undignified jobs performed by people can be dispensed with. With society as it is now this is rather a forlorn hope. Atom development can be a curse or a blessing. The politician with an armful of these bombs would be virtually god almighty and would expect to be treated as such. It can be treated as such. It can be a blessing when humanity takes its logical and rightful place in the scheme of things. Peace cannot be born of fear: fear of atom bombs or bows and arrows. Peace will come when men and women assert their inherent rights which demand fundamental changes in society. The element of greatest value in human society should obviously be human beings. You, I and the other fellow are the beginning and end of everything for ourselves. Should we, in concert, assert our right to a full, free and equal life, then governments and the need for atom bombs will wither away.

PRESTON CLEMENTS.

Commentary

hospitals matrons are often also ward sisters, theatre sisters, midwives, radiographers—and even cooks. General nursing conditions: 'Thankless drudgery'."

This is at a time when many thousands of doctors, nurses and medical orderlies are kept in the army, with very little to do, and no new battle casualties coming in. The medical wing of an army is built up on the basis of maximum casualties, and in peace time when civilian needs are not met in any adequate way, it is criminal to keep people with valuable experience and capabilities of medical and hospital work away from the places where their work could be of most communal use.

Red Indians on the Warpath.

The Red Indians of childhood adventure have declined into one of the most neglected of colonial subject peoples. The continual wars of the whites against them, the ravages of disease and unfamiliar conditions have reduced them to a pitiful minority among the mass of white people in Canada. But, although we hear little about them, they have grievances as great as those of the American or African negroes, and they are beginning to assume a militant attitude towards their problems. Indian Associations are appearing in all the Canadian provinces, and an all-Canadian Indian conference is expected in Ottawa shortly.

The Indians have no political rights except as subject people. They have no vote, no parliamentary representation, and their affairs are managed by a section of the Department of Mines and Resources. Their economic position is miserable, they have scanty medical services, and their children are often forcibly taken away from them for a year at a time to be educated away from home because no reasonable facilities are given in the reservations. In spite of all this, their young men are forced into the army, to fight for a democracy they do not enjoy. The new militancy of the Indians was shown in an admirable speech by Reuben Bull at the Alberta Indian conference recently. Declaring that working for the common good of all is the basic principle," Reuben Bull went on to say,

"We Indians feel that we have not been treated in the past as if we were members of

the human family or like citizens of Canada. Nor do we feel that we are at present considered worthy to participate in the benefits arising from the modern way of thinking. We resent this as an insult to the dignity of man in us, that feeling which we have inherited from our worthy fathers, whose advance toward a brighter life has been so cruelly interrupted by the unscrupulous usurpers of our rights . . .

"When our country suffered a depression and the government found it necessary to relieve the situation by various relief measures, we Indians were not considered for the same benefits; and we starved when our neighbours, some of whom were not even required to be Canadian citizens, were given help by the government . . .

"When all the people of the provinces are having schools in their communities, our children are taken from us and we don't see them for a year at a time. Do our children need the loving companionship of their mothers and fathers less than the white children? . . .

"Why do our sons fight for the principle of democracy when at home we Indians are not accorded the simple fundamentals of decent living? . . . We Indians are sometimes subjected to the kind of indignities that our Fascist enemies have inflicted on freedom-loving people. This situation makes it difficult for us to distinguish between the evils we have heard about in Fascism and the democracy we are fighting for. Is there a special justice for Indians? We don't believe it. We fight for our rights. We would rather be dead heroes, worthy of our forefathers, than be like rats, a shame to our ancestors, a disgrace to our children. When the Four Freedoms finally come to this world—may we have our share?"

Working Class Peers!

The millionaires and crusted reactionaries are beginning to recognise that a Labour Government may not be a bad thing for their interests after all. The Stock Exchange continues rosy. Admiral Evans, who spoke from Tory platforms a few weeks back, suddenly blossoms out as a Labour peer. And now, after a century in which the name of his family has been a byword for fabulous wealth and financial power, Lord Rothschild takes out his party ticket. Could the Labour Party wish a better reference for its respectability?

ITALIAN ANARCHIST CONGRESS

The first Italian national Anarchist Congress since the Fascists came to power has recently been held in Carrara, a small town in the northern tip of Tuscany famous the world over for its marble, and well known to the Italian proletariat for the staunch struggle its people have unremittently sustained against the State, the capitalists and Fascism.

The most important decisions reached by the congress were:

1. To enter and make use of the existing Liberation Committees for local class-demands and to attempt their decentralisation as they are now mostly a means of political control and propaganda on the part of the five parties officially recognised;
2. To intensify as much as possible the struggle against the Church, in contrast with the attitude taken by most parties in this respect, particularly by the Communist party;
3. To counteract the work of the political parties who still try to deceive the people by the myth of the Constituent Assembly and of democratic elections, and to work for the spreading and success of free local initiatives and direct action;
4. To agitate within the existing Trade Unions the libertarian will to direct action, to form groups everywhere of Syndicalist Defence, and to co-ordinate their work by means of a Syndicate Committee formed by the most expert and active members of the movement.

As for the organisation of the movement itself, it was unanimously agreed that it should be elastic, strongly decentralised, with no authority either at the centre or in the outskirts, while still affording the possibility and the actual means for permanent contacts between different groups, and for a co-ordinated general action should the political situation demand it.

Dealing with the problems of foreign policy, the Congress has reaffirmed the Anarchists' anti-national role, resistance to hate-mongers and propagandists of anti-semitic and other racial idiocies, and has insisted that a better knowledge of other peoples should be promoted, of the Spanish people in particular.

The Congress also called the country's attention to the necessity of disarming the Navy and Army and declaring Italy's perpetual neutrality.

On Sunday, September 16th, the work of the Congress was interrupted in order that a public meeting should be held in the Verdi Theatre of the town. The crowd attending it was such that loudspeakers had to be placed in the adjacent streets to permit those who could not enter the theatre to hear the voices of the different speakers.

The deep impression the congress has created and a proof of the demonstration it gave of the strength of the movement can be gathered from the fact that the local Communist, Republican, Action, Socialist and Christian Democrat Parties felt it necessary to send their greetings to the Congress.

Condensed from *Volontà* and *Il Libertario*.

AN ATTACK ON FREEDOM

On Monday, the 19th November, four people were bound over for six months and one was fined 40 shillings at Marylebone Police Court for having exercised a well-known and ancient right to sell literature outside the gates of Hyde Park. The four bound over were Leah Downes, who sold *Freedom*, Clare Annesley and Mrs. Murphy, who sold *The Word*, and P. Rawlings, who sold *Direct Action*. Adolfo Caltabiano, who has already been to prison and suffered physical maltreatment there for having refused to pay past fines for selling his anti-Fascist literature, was sentenced to a fine of forty shillings.

One police witness asserted that the sellers in question were standing on the kerb and thrusting their papers into the faces of passers. He was asked three times to demonstrate how the sellers held out the papers, and each time his hand went further out until his arm was outstretched, so that his own evidence was by no means consistent. He asserted that the pavement was ten feet wide, and that eight people were walking along it abreast (on a 10 ft. pavement!) nearly all the time.

The evidence of the second police witness conflicted with that of the first. He said the sellers were standing on and off the pavement, the width of which he estimated to be twelve or fourteen feet. He also asserted that the sellers were holding their arms outstretched and that the pavement was crowded. Both of the police admitted that they had received no complaint from foot passengers.

The God Almighty Atom

Dropping the atom bomb on Hiroshima on

Murder has led to more murder; more murder

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...and their children are often forcibly taken away from them for a year at a time to be educated away from home because no reasonable facilities are given in the reservations. In spite of all this, their young men are forced into the army, to fight for a democracy they do not enjoy. The new militancy of the Indians was shown in an admirable speech by Reuben Bull at the Alberta Indian conference recently. Declaring that "working for the common good of all is the basic principle," Reuben Bull went on to say, "We Indians feel that we have not been treated in the past as if we were members of

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The evidence of the accused, and of three independent witnesses, stated that in fact the sellers were not standing on the pavement, but in the gutter, that the pavement was not at all crowded, and that none of the accused was holding out papers. One witness stated that Caltabiano was walking along when he was arrested by the two policemen, who had to run after him to catch him. A fourth witness produced measurements of the pavement which showed that at only one end of the stretch in question was it as narrow as 14' 6", and that for most of the section where the sellers were standing it was between 19' 6" and 24' 0" wide.

In spite of the overwhelming evidence that no obstruction had been caused and that the police statements were, to say the least, inexact, the magistrate found the five accused guilty on the grounds that they *might* have caused an obstruction, and made the amazing statement that anyone who used a footpath or a highway for a purpose other than the passage of traffic or pedestrians was liable for prosecution. He even went so far as to identify himself with the police by saying that if the Hyde Park sellers defied the police, then they would be convicted, and warned them against attempting to establish a custom of selling. The last remark was particularly presumptuous in view of the fact that the custom has been established for many years and that one of the people in question had been selling at Hyde Park for fifteen years.

This decision represents a grave attack on the liberty of propagating ideas. It is very significant that no similar attempt is made to drive the evening newspapers off the streets by arresting their sellers, and therefore it is clear that this action is motivated by the nature of the literature which was being sold. The police officers concerned denied that they were acting under instructions. But these denials were rendered very suspect by the fact that at the hearing on the previous Monday a Special Branch officer actually sat in the Court, and that on the day of the verdict two Special Branch men were seen skulking in a corridor—no doubt the publicity given in *Freedom* to the presence of one of them in the court at the previous hearing had made them try to remain undetected. If the Special Branch took such an interest in

The God Almighty Atom

Dropping the atom bomb on Hiroshima on August 6th was a bad business. The effect on the imagination is dumbfounding. As yet the full horrible significance has not been completely grasped. After all, the people are only now beginning to get used to the idea of peace following second war horrors, and to contemplate the fearful conflagration of a third war as the atom bomb is still beyond their imagination. The first bomb dropped killed 100,000 people, aimed twice as many, destroyed every living thing over a wide area and, quoting from Dr. Harold Jacobson who worked on the atom bomb made Hiroshima uninhabitable for 70 years." This bomb was a baby as far as potentiality goes. It is not theoretically possible to produce a less powerful bomb than that which destroyed Hiroshima" said Sir George Thomson, chairman of the Atomic Energy Committee.

Speaking of "this terrible new weapon," General George F. Marshall, Chief of the General Staff, U.S. Army, says "It is not difficult to predict super-sonic atomic rockets travelling faster than sound." Even though the first atom bomb was but the small beginning, a technical crudity, it is, nevertheless, a fiendish instrument of death and destruction—an experiment (apparently successful) in mass destruction of human life on which the combined brains of the scientist, militarist and politician were devoted, producing the greatest insane monstrosity ever perpetrated by mankind on its own species.

Abolish War

We have insufficient technical data concerning atomic fission to attempt any scientific analysis or forecast developments in the field of super-sonic rockets. For this we must rely on the little information which the experts let drop. Their forecasts for war, based on scientific facts, are of contraptions travelling at colossal speed to smash at pin-pointed targets thousands of miles away with a force 12,000 times more destructive than the very latest in T.N.T. developments.

At this moment the grave peril of the human race is more readily recognised by the scientist than the layman. Warning after warning is coming from the Professors of Physics. This profound warning comes from Dr. M.L. E. Dolezal.

Murder has led to mass murder; mass murder has led to universal insane warfare, which in the end can lead to the complete elimination of the human species from the earth.

This hideous machine of massacre is not the product of the evil genius of some crazy penologist, but the calculated results of long labour and deliberations by leading militarists, famous politicians, engineers and 125,000 workers. In extenuation of the workers it is true that most of them at the E. I. DuPont de Nemours and Co. plant at Hanford, U.S.A. were unaware of what they were helping to produce. Workers have Hobson's choice anyway.

Democracy, what crimes have been committed in thy name! Governments pursuing nationalistic ambitions poured £500,000,000 into the production of the monstrosity; in the name of the common people they produced this tremendous threat to life itself.

Once the secret of the atom bomb has been uncovered it cannot be covered up again. The discovery is here, damnably here, and it matters little that common sentiment is in favour of abolition. The pre-atom period is unalterable, and no moral jugglery can blind us to the facts of Hiroshima and Nagasaki—shocking though the facts are, the vital problem cannot be met with an attitude of ethical amnesia. The threat of the atom bomb is not confined to the oriental peoples. It is a grave threat to the continuance of existence of life everywhere. The peoples of Britain, America, France and Russia are all possible victims.

It is true that simultaneously with the annihilation of these cities in Japan, came the glory of conquest. The anticipated victory from which the politicians of the United Nations told us would come security from aggression, want and fear has arrived. If the purpose of the war was to remove the fear of future war and to abolish aggression from the earth (and this is precisely what the man in the street did believe) then the six years of suffering have been in vain. The discovery and development of atomic fission has bred suspicion and fear. Yesterday's allies now hold dark suspicions of each other. Former areas of friendship have been diminishing since Hiroshima. Fear that some megalomaniac would arm himself (and there are numbers who

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"As to the future . . . there will be improvements both in the processes of producing fissionable material and in its use. It is conceivable that totally different methods may be discovered for converting matter into energy . . . Should a scheme be devised for converting to energy even as much as a few per cent. of the matter of some common material, civilisation would have the means to commit suicide at will." (page 134).

The people of Hiroshima did not commit suicide, they were murdered.

The Perilous Road

The conditions which outraged, killed and diseased mankind in world wars one and two form the old and familiar background to the present atom race. The causes of the previous wars are to remain. Added to inequality, suppression, secular and national interests is the atom bomb 'to scatter blight and death and dearth wherever mortal man is found'. Already are the politicians and technicians travelling the perilous road to world war three.

The decision as to whether people shall be killed off or not rests with the politicians, who have proved their incapacity to solve even the most elementary problems in society. Wars begin in the minds of men. War psychology is clearly revealed in the following Government statement on the atom bomb:—

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The prospects for future generations is forbodingly set out in the Official Statement on Atomic Energy, published in the U.S.A. and

The decision as to whether people shall be killed off or not rests with the politicians, who have proved their incapacity to solve even the most elementary problems in society. Wars begin in the minds of men. War psychology is clearly revealed in the following Government statement on the atom bomb:—

"A weapon has been developed that is potentially destructive beyond the wildest nightmares of imagination. A weapon so ideally suited to the sudden unannounced attack that a country's cities might be destroyed over-night by an ostensibly friendly power . . . We (the U.S.A.) have an initial advantage in time because so far as we know, other countries have not been able to carry out parallel developments during the war period. We also have a general advantage in scientific and particularly in industrial strength, but such an advantage can easily be thrown away." (*Atomic Energy* c. 13, para 2, August 1945).

This is the considered statement of the U.S.A. government and not the dramatic writings in a sensational news paper. We are familiar with this type of statement for it has often been used as war propaganda against the Nazis, showing clearly that the minds and intentions behind the production and use of V weapons are practically identical.

Curse or Blessing

What then is the answer to this dramatic human dilemma? A part of the answer is found in the fact that all the research on atomic fission has been towards the production of weapons of destruction, whereas we should recognise that the splitting of the atom and subsequent development can be stupendously constructive. The staggering discovery need be of no greater significance than the switching on of electric light in your kitchen, except for the possible innovation of producing cars driven by nuclear power and houses lit by radioactive lamps, also the degrading and undignified jobs performed by people can be dispensed with. With society as it is now this is rather a forlorn hope. Atom development can be a curse or a blessing. The politician with an armful of these bombs would be virtually god almighty and would expect to be treated as such. It can be treated as such. It can be a blessing when humanity takes its logical and rightful place in the scheme of things. Peace cannot be born of fear: fear of atom bombs or bows and arrows. Peace will come when men and women assert their inherent rights which demand fundamental changes in society. The element of greatest value in human society should obviously be human beings. You, I and the other fellow are the beginning and end of everything for ourselves. Should we, in concert, assert our right to a full, free and equal life, then governments and the need for atom bombs will wither away.

PRESTON CLEMENTS.

by saying that the Hyde Park sellers defied the police, then they would be convicted, and warned them against attempting to establish a custom of selling. The last remark was particularly presumptuous in view of the fact that the custom has been established for many years and that one of the people in question had been selling at Hyde Park for fifteen years.

This decision represents a grave attack on the liberty of propagating ideas. It is very significant that no similar attempt is made to drive the evening newspapers off the streets by arresting their sellers, and therefore it is clear that this action is motivated by the nature of the literature which was being sold. The police officers concerned denied that they were acting under instructions. But these denials were rendered very suspect by the fact that at the hearing on the previous Monday a Special Branch officer actually sat in the Court, and that on the day of the verdict two Special Branch men were seen skulking in a corridor—no doubt the publicity given in *Freedom* to the presence of one of them in the court at the previous hearing had made them try to remain undetected. If the Special Branch took such an interest in the case, it is surely fair to assume that they had something to do with its instigation, and are at the bottom of the conspiracy to stop the selling of left-wing literature at this customary pitch.

We protest emphatically against this unjust and reactionary decision, which means virtually that at any time the police will be able to arrest people selling either in the roadway or on the pavement at Hyde Park. We are sure that the sellers of *Freedom* and other papers at the Park do not intend to be intimidated by this police terrorism, and that they will continue to sell, as they have done for so many years. In 1940 the bout of police intimidation at Hyde Park was defeated by the firm stand of the sellers, and we are sure that this will happen again. Meanwhile, we appeal for the co-operation of readers who visit Hyde Park, to watch the actions of the police and to come forward as witnesses if they see any comrades arrested for selling literature.

FORTNIGHTLY 2d.

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